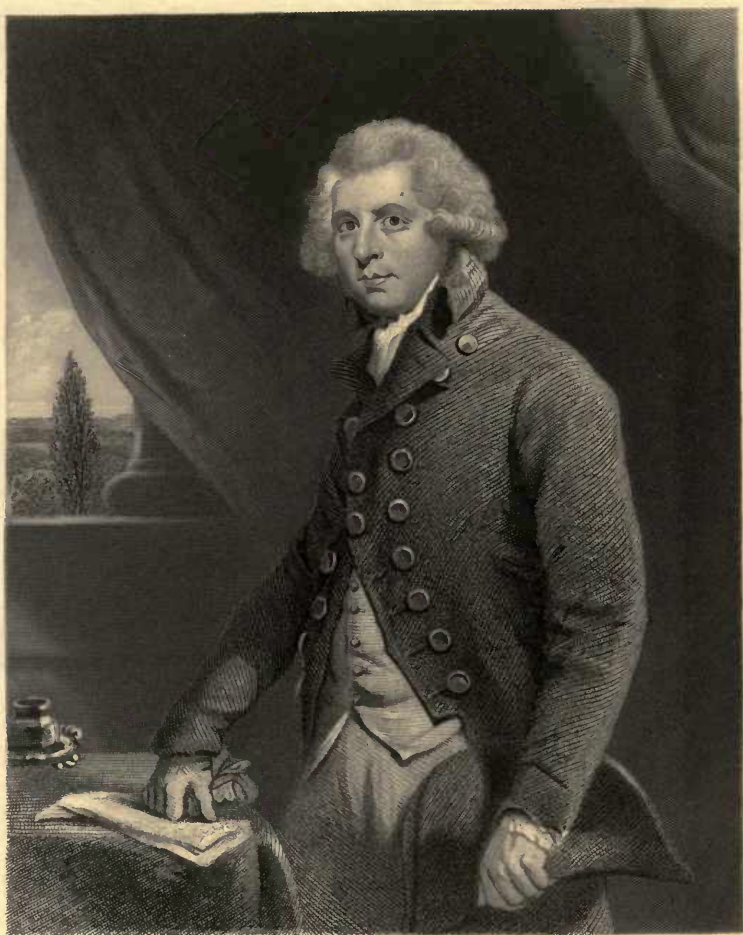


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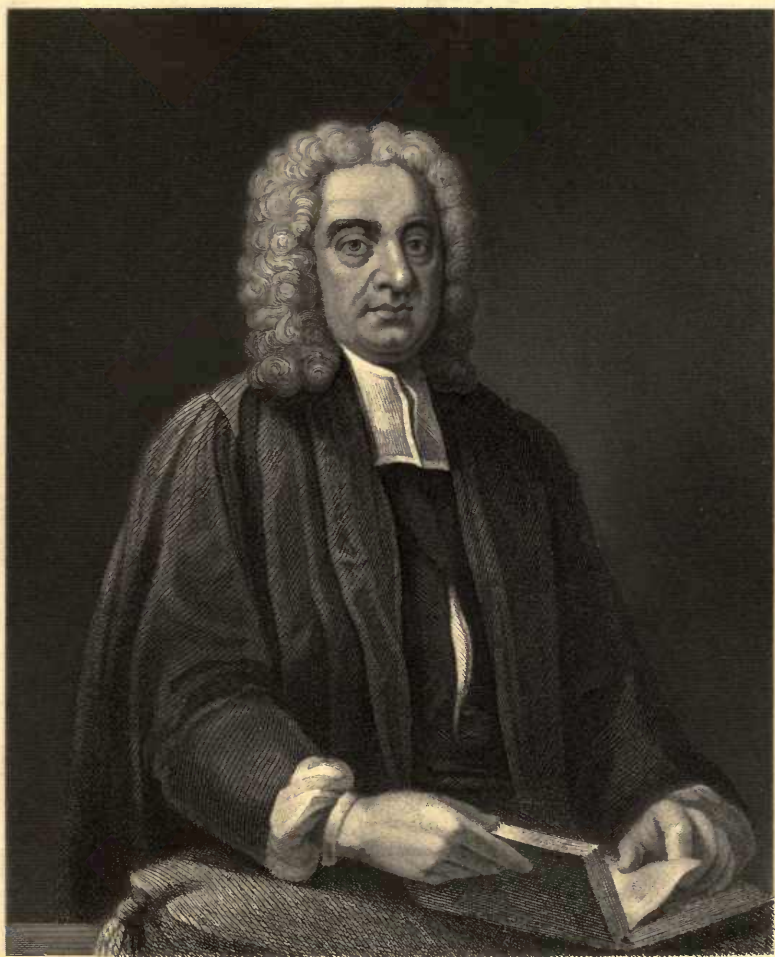
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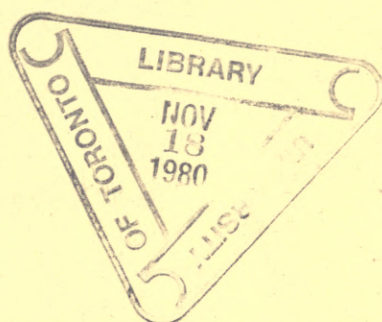
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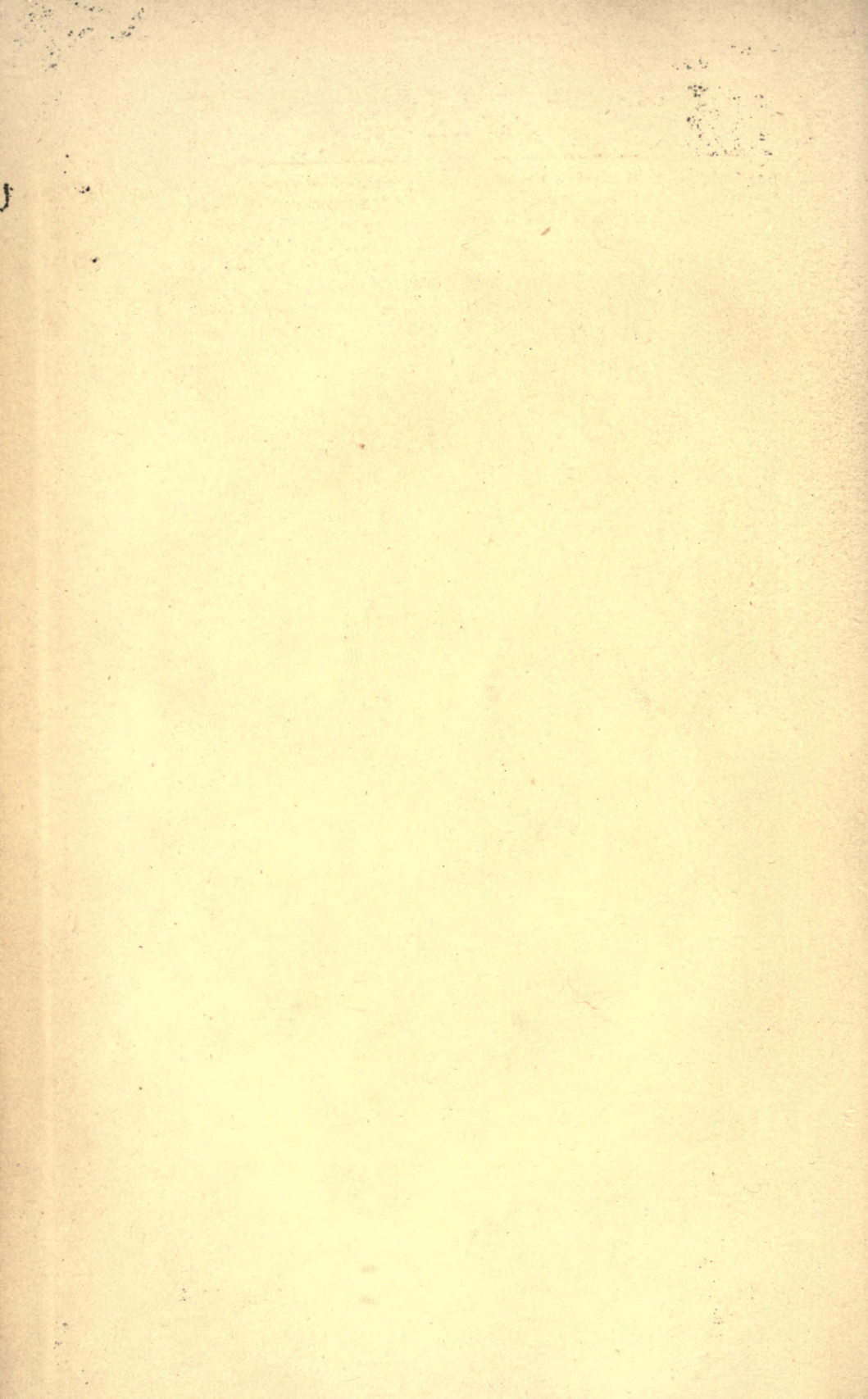
THE HON^{BLE} ROBERT BOYLE.



W. Hall.

GEORGE BERKELEY

A. Fullarton & Co London & Edinburgh.



THE IRISH NATION.

TRANSITION.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Retrospect—Early Religion not that of Rome—State of Ireland in the previous Period—Anglo-Norman Conquest—Reign of Mary—Elizabeth.

To obtain a just insight into the social or political history of Ireland, during the period on which we must now enter, it will be necessary to recall from the past some general conditions which have still, through all our periods, had a main influence to govern, or chiefly shape the course of events. The consideration is the more essential, as most of the seeming difficulties and misrepresentations which have obscured our history, have their source in opposite views on those fundamental elements—the social condition and early religion of the native Irish.

For the first of these main considerations, we have to observe, that even so late as the 17th century, there existed in Ireland no class, to which, in any modern sense, the term "people" could be intelligibly applied. There was no constitutional structure of civil government—or social order between the lord and the serf. The common people were slaves to chiefs, with few exceptions, little less savage than themselves. As such a statement must seem to many inconsistent with the traditional exaggerations of the annalist or the bard, it may be useful to recall the truth, even as it becomes transparent through the very surface of the tradition itself. And it will also be clearly apparent, that the boasted learning of the early Hibernian saints and doctors, was wholly confined to those learned individuals themselves; and, in no way indicates the state of the people, rich or poor. They were teachers without a school—speculative disputants in religion or philosophy, travelling to learn or teach. The chiefs and the people had other objects to attend to; the incessant and murderous contentions of the petty toparchs who robbed each other, and trampled on their "hereditary bondsmen." The frequent invasions from the Dane or Norwegian, invited by such a state of things, ever tended to repress the first germs of civilization, and drive the arts and muses from the shore.

One high and pure civilizing influence found its way—impeded and

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finally interrupted by the same causes—an imperfectly planted Christian church; neutralized by the popular ignorance and nearly primitive absence of moral or social culture. The early, and, it is said, apostolical teaching of Christianity, notwithstanding these impediments, like sunrise on the hilltops, cast its illumination, to a more than partial extent, among the superior classes, and there soon began a rich spread of moral and doctrinal intelligence, strangely contrasted with the general condition of the people and with the rude simplicity of the age. In a few generations the doctors and disputants of the “Isle of Saints” were heard in foreign schools, and the earlier heresies and disputes of the first Christian churches were earnestly discussed among the mountains of Kerry, or the rocky isles of the western shore. And for many centuries, while heresies of all forms and grades of degeneracy were accumulating in Christian churches, the saints and bishops of Ireland, with small exception, adhered to their first unadulterated faith. Of these contests, and of the earlier disciples and doctors whose names they rendered memorable in high tradition, we have given several full notices in a former stage of our history. Two centuries later we trace the slow beginning of a considerable change. It was then that the great metropolitan city of the west, having in the revolutions of continental Europe gathered influence, began to claim supremacy over the nations. As a natural consequence the emissaries and monks of the church began to be mixed among the Irish; a result more natural, as they had as yet not departed widely from the common standard of faith. We only mention this as accounting for the confusion of some more recent antiquarian writers on the ancient church of the country.

It was after the Anglo-Norman invasion, and late in the 12th century, that Henry II. conceived the policy of availing himself of the powerful alliance of the Pope. He had speculated on the defenceless condition of the country, and through his chaplain opened a negotiation with Pope Adrian, in which he urged the fitness of reducing Ireland to Romish jurisdiction, and offered his own services for that laudable end. Adrian gladly closed with the welcome proposal. His power in Ireland was yet unacknowledged; the people had latterly given doubtful and wavering signs of acknowledgment. Much had still been gained since 1152, when Eugenius III. had sent over Cardinal Papirius, who introduced several canons of the Roman See, and established generally a communion with Rome. Henry undertook to reduce the nominal to a real and canonical subjection, and to secure a tribute for the Pope. In return, he was rewarded with the gift of the island, by virtue of a power latterly assumed by the Pope to dispose of kingdoms.

During the period to which we have thus looked back, it cannot be truly said that there existed many of the social or political incidents which indicate progress towards the civil institutions of law, government, or commerce of modern ages. The most decided steps in advance may be traced in connection with the invaders from Denmark and Norway, whose settlement in both of the British isles brought in many elements of civilization. Their general influence is however more decidedly to be found marked in early English antiquity. After their first reduction, in the reign of O'Melachlin, they were again

allowed to land and settle peaceably under Sitric, under many professions of friendly conduct and commercial benefit to the nation. They were permitted to gain possession of the chief cities—Waterford, Limerick, and Dublin. They soon recovered strength, and kept the country in successive outbreaks of war and predatory excursion through the greater part of the ninth century, to the famous battle of Clontarf, when they were finally defeated with great slaughter by Brian Baromhe. We have already given the main details of these events, they are here thus cursorily adverted to as among the few incidents which contributed to the state of Ireland as it existed at the commencement and during the first reigns of the period of the history of which we must now offer the main events. The most important of the cities, and, generally, the elements of civic or corporate organization obtained form and construction in the outset from the habits and commercial genius of that adventurous race. Their occupation was nevertheless too transient to have communicated any impulse to the nation, but that which it did not want, their spirit of outrage and plunder. The Irish people were during that period little in condition to receive improvement, or the Danish settler in condition to impart it. We have to notice the events of a much later period. Events, which may not be characterized as prosperous, nor to be contemplated with humane satisfaction, yet, in which the earlier indications of genuine progress and the civilized future—long after to be approached, become slowly and painfully traceable. It is to be still felt through every reign of the Anglo-Norman kings, through the period of one immediate division, that we are still engaged in following the deeds and fortunes of an unreclaimed people, which we might perhaps describe as rather fallen than raised from their pristine condition; and this we should affirm with less reserve, could we rely on the poetic and legendary relation of the bardic annalists of their primitive heroic ages.

The succession of events chiefly occupying the memoirs of our latter period display no advance in the general condition; some political changes were such as to materially aggravate the disorders we have noted. Nor can we present any very redeeming incident but one, itself the result of the most awful calamities which can befall a nation—rebellions, massacres, and judgments, forfeitures and exiles,—the results, to a remote posterity, from early causes, which had long continued to operate. The constitution of the country, if the term may be so applied, abounded with irreconcilable conditions, and, as it stood, was incapable of being transformed into any polity susceptible of improvement, unless by changes too comprehensive to be effected without opposition, offence, and hence fatal malversation and abuse. The Irish natives, though among the earliest civilized races of Europe, had from many causes hung back in the twilight of antiquity, till, in the course of human progress, their antique customs had become barbarism, retaining on its wild features somewhat of the "hairbreadth sentimental trace" of the Caledonian muse, without the refinement. Rude and fierce, and torn into factions by the continual dissensions of their petty kings, they long continued to degenerate,—warping for many generations further from the pale of progress. From the first inroads of Danish invasion, their condition was sinking into dilapidation, giving

birth to ruins and round towers. And when, after the Anglo-Norman invasion, it became a question how their fallen position could be retrieved,—how it might be reduced into a portion of the modern imperfectly civilized world, and raised from a condition abject for themselves, dangerous for England, of being a mere landing-place for enemies, an approach for foreign intrigue,—it soon became too apparent that one course alone was practically effective. It was one full of difficulties and objectionable consequences, not to be adopted without leaving behind a surviving enmity of the worst kind,—the enmity of races. The disposition of property, the laws of inheritance, the distribution of power, the civil jurisdiction, with the prejudices and customs of every class, were, as they stood, unfavourable to regular government, common as they were to peace or constitutional freedom. There was nowhere power to remedy these evils by peaceful means. The nation, half conquered, had been left to flounder on like a wounded bird that could neither fly nor walk, escape nor resist. It was full of conflicting elements: two races were hostile to each other—two laws clashed—two powers strove for mastery—two religions cursed each other;—ills partially, and but partially, redressed by the only remedies which could be found applicable, yet which no less tended to perpetuate than to assuage them.

During this period there cannot be traced the regular form or working of any civil constitution, beyond the imperfect administration of criminal law and financial imposition by the legislative council, afterwards to occupy so important a position in Irish history, and so largely modify the national condition and the train of events. From the several occasional and incidental allusions to this essential estate of free government, it is not easy to fix the period of its institution, its earliest privileges and constitution. We meet it first very much in the form of a council of ecclesiastics and other persons having rank and authority, assembled to consult on local or at most provincial interests. Under successive monarchs, from the reign of Henry, its constitution was by slow degrees improved, both in authority and the composition of members. These were long the persons of noble rank, summoned by the king or by his lieutenant for some special occasion;—there was not, and, properly speaking, could not have been, a House of borough representation. For long no boroughs existed, until created by successive kings of the Norman descent. The first House of Commons seems to have been in 1613. Of its after history we shall have much occasion to speak more fully. We may here best observe that for the whole of this period, from Elizabeth to Anne, the Irish parliament possessed little power to influence the course of events. It became a matter of discretion or favour long before it was of right, to call in the council or obtain the sanction of the nobles for the laws which were projected by the government, or (by Poyning's Law,) transmitted to the council in England. The law was loosely worded, and one convenient evasion followed another, and abuses rose which were the business of further enactments and declarations to correct or aggravate. At times the balance of encroachment preponderated for the nobles, sometimes for the Crown, and latterly for the Commons, according to the varying changes in the successive reigns, from Henry VIII. to Charles II. The

declaratory act of Philip and Mary is to be regarded as having fixed the sense of the law, and given to the parliament that form which it afterwards held. The Irish parliament began in disorder and confusion, not unprophectic of its future and of its end. The government continued, from the commencement of this period, in the formal possession of lieutenants or deputies of the crown, but mostly with little authority beyond the metropolitan district, or what they could assert by military force. The country, until this time, yet remained in the same condition as before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and with many nominal institutional changes was virtually the same. The population, as of old, consisted of lords and serfs. There was no people, in the vulgar sense of the term; neither commerce, nor arts, nor manufactures, nor even agriculture existed. The land was a forest and a morass. The petty kings—as they chose to be ranked—amused themselves with the chase, or with the costlier game of war and civil intrigue and circumvention; until discord and mutual strife at last brought in the Anglo-Norman. Thus was originated the first step of what might have come to be the dawn of civil progress, but (not to say, that the conquerors themselves were yet but little beyond the first rudiments) the elements of barbarism had somewhat of a constitutional growth in the country. Inveterate prejudices traditionally rooted, and, as it were, crystallized into laws, were favourable to the usurpations of the new, as well as of the ancient lords, and adapted to the manners and customs of both; and combined with a territorial distribution which converted the whole land into a hunting-field, prevented all those wholesome influences of property, and useful occupations of the soil on which, primarily, the social advantage of a people must depend: the country was divided rather into kingdoms and lordships, than farms and pastures. The rule of force was the law. The acquisition of a fortified house was a title to rob, and to lord it over the neighbouring district with its inhabitants, who looked to the owner for protection, espoused his quarrels, and joined his marauding excursions.

The long succession of feudal contentions, forfeitures, appropriations, and settlements, of wars, and transfers of lordship, which constitute the history of the following four centuries, belong to the period already past, and may be referred to the memoirs contained in our former volume. They are here but adverted to, as descriptive of the state of things from which we must next proceed. In quitting the subject, a few reflections may be allowed. We have approached the history of a state of things from which, if suffered to continue, there could follow no recovery. "*History's muse*," as the spirit of the Irish historian has, with inadvertent satire, been termed by the poet of Ireland, has adorned the "blotted" page with bright dreams of heroic achievement and patriotic suffering. The colours of the rainbow have been lavished to glorify the monuments of those dark ages of crime and mutual wrong. The chronicler and the bard too frequently have supplied matter for the rant of Irish eloquence, by ignoring the protracted lapse of ages, which separate the "glories of Brian the Brave" from the black betrayal of friendly trust and domestic sanctity in Charlemont fort. It grieves us to touch these dark recollections; but our main object is, so far as we may, to restore the balance of reality. On

every side there has been matter enough for reproach; but the fancy of the poet, and the eloquence of the rhetorician, have ever found their most ready material on the side of popular malcontent. The gait and countenance of freedom, independence and liberty, are most easily assumed to the vulgar eye, by the swaggering of democratic insolence, by lawless insubordination, and renunciation of principle. The people whose wrongs are trumpeted abroad in all the keys of brazen exaggeration, were in those heroic days on a level with beasts of pasture as to freedom, and not much above them in moral nature. The rule of force, "the good old plan," was the universal law, the right, was the power to take and the power to keep.

During the long period marked by these characters, there existed no orderly or normal constitution. Calm and disturbance, tyranny and resistance, rebellions against authority, sanguinary feuds among chiefs, and popular excitements, all on an increasing scale, variously shifted like clouds on a stormy day. Virtually there was no government: in the dominant kingdom, disorder of too frequent recurrence, and too violent, left long intervals of license to corrupt authority and to nurture disaffection. There existed no care for the development of internal resources. Agriculture was discouraged by the despotic chief for the preservation of the beast of chase; nor was the tenure of land favourable to improvement. It was the ancient maxim of the chiefs to keep the "hereditary bondsman" in the state best adapted to the savage submission of their class—subservient to the mandate of robbery and mutual aggression. The astute priesthood saw the security of their growing influence, in the exclusion of all moral or intellectual advance, whether in lord or serf. Over all these was growing unperceived by any party or class, the skilfully ordered influence of an alien jurisdiction, and a secretly advancing cause. We may now pass on to the consideration of those circumstances which mainly contributed to alter, if not materially to advance, this torn and trampled nation from its dead level of poverty and depression.

Ages might pass, and leave it still in the same condition of serf bondage and aristocratic tyranny. The first great step towards improvement was yet unthought of, when an event of a different nature had begun to diffuse a saving and exalting light, which, while it brought in a dawn of freedom and prosperity to England, unhappily carried bitterness and controversial rancour, to give new force and impulse to the national discontents of Ireland. This was the Reformation.

The nation first, by a combination of fraud and dominant power deprived of its more ancient and truer faith, was next, with better intention, but not more lawful means, constrained into unwilling subjection to a renewal of the old creed under a newly framed constitution. In the 15th century, the apostolical faith of the old Irish church was long forgotten, and the heresies of middle-age superstition possessed the people, and were radically combined with their habits, discontents, and animosities.

To estimate more justly the true effects of this and other causes, which aggravated and protracted the state of things heretofore described, we must proceed to notice the more active and energetic measures

afterwards adopted for the improvement of the country, and for the correction of its main abuses.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the reformation obtained, amid much resistance, some advance in Ireland; this was, however, counteracted in the next reign; the superstitious Mary, governed by the Spanish counsels and influence of her husband, and wholly devoted to the interests of the Papal See; though under considerable difficulties from the discontents of the English aristocracy and better classes of her subjects; was not deterred from adopting the inquisitorial proceedings of her husband's church and country; and the persecution commenced in England was readily extended into Ireland. In 1556, there was published a Bull of Pope Paul IV., complaining of the separation of Ireland from his See, and asserting the readiness of the people to return.* The Protestant prelates were violently driven from their Sees, which were filled with Romish ecclesiastics. The primatial authority, committed to Bishop Dowdal, was wielded with more than the harshness of his bigoted mistress.

Meanwhile, the perpetual disorders of the country were much increasing. Great commotion was fast growing violent, in the Queen's county and King's county,† on account of the occupation of new settlers on the lands. In consequence, great numbers were slain, and but for the humane and truly patriotic intercession with the Queen, of the Earls of Ormonde and Kildare, these counties would have been depopulated.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, steps were taken to restore the church in Ireland to its condition in the preceding reigns. But the hostility of Rome, and the active enmity of its creatures and zealous supporters in the country, were more than proportionally augmented. The brutal chief of Tyrone, encouraged by many escapes, by much impunity, by the devotion of his rabble followers, and by the injudicious efforts of the government at conciliation, increased in pride, and in encroachments on his brother chiefs. In 1562, he came to a resolution to visit the Queen in great state, and appeared in London in barbaric pomp, at the head of a grotesque train of his northern savages. He was received with politic favour, and allowed to plead his rights and complain of his wrongs, and was dismissed with assurances of favour. On his return, he pursued his former turbulent course, but under the cautious pretext of resisting the Queen's enemies. His pretended loyalty was felt by Sydney to be as formidable as his hostility. He was, however,

* This Pope quarrelled with Henry II. of France for slightly relaxing the persecution of his Protestant subjects. Ranke, in his history of the Popes, traces very clearly the strong Protestant reactions in Germany and other parts of Europe, caused by the excessive violence of this Pope. In the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth is supposed to have had some leaning to Romanism. She caused her accession to be notified to Paul. He scornfully told the English ambassador that "she must first submit her claims to his judgment." It is even not obscurely apparent that, if England had not been providentially leavened with a strong infusion of scriptural truth, from a period long antecedent, the conduct of this Pope had secured the victory of Protestantism in England. And the same observation may, in nearly similar terms, be extended through many parts of Europe, from the same period and causes. Paul's most favoured instrument was the Inquisition, which he revived. His tyranny was nearly driving the people of Rome into revolt. On his death their hatred was freely indulged by many excesses, among which was the mutilation of his statue, which was dragged through the streets of Rome.

† Anciently Leix and Offally.

soon encouraged to cast aside pretences, by the occurrence of a destructive explosion of the powder magazine in Derry, which passed for a miracle on the gross superstition of the time, and was ascribed to the vengeance of Saint Columkille on the intruders upon his abode. Tyrone at once raised his standard in the north, and proclaimed his defiance. Once more he plunged the northern provinces into disorder and ruin; he burned the church of Armagh, razed many castles, and sent out his emissaries to engage the aid and alliance of the chiefs of Munster and Connaught. Sydney assailed him with not dissimilar policy; he was aware that O'Neal's ferocity and arrogance, with his savage severity towards his followers, had alienated their temper, and led to desertion and hatred. O'Neal's forces ebbed away from around him, and he presently found himself alone and a fugitive. It is needless to describe the treacherous artifice by which he was slain in a brawl with many of his followers, by a hostile chief whose ancestor he had slain. His attainder, which soon followed, left nearly the whole province of Ulster in the possession of Queen Elizabeth.

Many salutary laws were at this time enacted; much was done to restore the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the crown; the province of Connaught was divided into six counties; but still the late condition of disquiet was far from its end. The Queen was excommunicated by Pius V. 1572, who damned all who should acknowledge her. Fresh commotions followed, and it must have been very strongly apparent at the time, that there could be no reliable security for the peace of the kingdom, while an alien jurisdiction, with the policy and interests of the Pope, could at any moment exercise a sway so absolute over an ignorant and excitable people. The present commotions were quieted in the south by Perrot, and effectively resisted by the citizens of Kilkenny, and by the influence of Ormonde, though his brother, with others of the Butlers, seem to have been rather inadvertently betrayed into the designs of those who were ill-affected towards the government. We have in the preceding volume already related the main incidents and fate of the principal chiefs and leaders of these commotions, and notice them in this place, only to preserve the historical connection of our memoirs. The discontents of chiefs, and of their family connections, under the deprivation of their estates, along with the more secret unremitting hostility of papal emissaries, may be said to have perpetuated disorder as the normal condition of the period; nor can the continual recurrences of insurrection and forced calm be conveniently followed out in their monotonous details, unless in very voluminous order.

The period of which we write is memorable for the active hostility of Philip II. against Queen Elizabeth. Irritated by her protection and countenance to the persecuted Protestants in the Netherlands, this cruel bigot equipped an expedition against Ireland, and a landing was effected in Kerry, at the Bay of Smerwick, from three ships, in which he sent 80 Spaniards, with James Fitz Maurice, and a disorderly band of fugitives from both England and Ireland. This little company was joined by the brothers of the Earl of Desmond. An English ship of war putting out from Kinsale, seized their ships, and thus cut off their retreat by sea. The Earl of Desmond attempted to collect his followers under pretext of aiding the government, and summoning the Earl of

Clancarty to aid ; he was, however, disappointed to find Clancarty quite ready to join in the cause so pretended, and shammed out of his feigned proposal by vexatious objections to every arrangement.

Within nearly the same period, perhaps about 1572, the Earl of Essex proposed to plant the Ulster district of Clandeboy with English settlers. He was to possess half the tract so planted, and the land was to be fortified and garrisoned at the joint cost of the queen and earl. The scheme seems to have been well organized ; but as it was frustrated by the subsequent misfortunes of that ill-fated nobleman, who mortgaged his estate to promote it, we shall not waste our space by its further notice. There could be little sane doubt that the ultimate prospect of Irish civilization was to depend upon the eventual success of such a measure. But Sir William Fitz William, who had been latterly commissioned in place of Sydney, fearing the evils which he foresaw from the rashness and presumptuous interferences of Essex, remonstrated strongly, representing the occasion as premature, in the unsettled state of the country. Essex, baffled in repeated efforts to prosecute his sanguine undertaking—at last worn out by frequent permissions and retractations—retired in anger and disgust to England, where he soon came to his well-known tragic end. Passing the long tissue of confused and stormy changes of two years, during which the various turns of disquiet and calm went on in similar succession, we revert to the Spanish invaders.

They had landed in the confident persuasion of a rising in mass, of the south to join them, but found themselves in a state of isolation. Fitz-Maurice was dead. Their retreat was cut off by six ships of war ; the Queen's forces were in course of collecting against them. They had recourse to the guidance of Desmond, and left the town of Smerwick. They were distributed through Kerry, and entertained by Desmond's followers. The Pope, by a Bull, committed his authority to Desmond, and published indulgences for all who should join him. The rebels increased rapidly in confidence and numbers. After gaining some advantages by surprising small detachments which had exposed themselves too rashly into their secret haunts, they were at last confronted by a small force under the command of Sir Nicholas Malby. The English amounted to 900 foot, with 150 horse. The rebels, to about 2,000. They had the papal standard, and one Allen, an Irish Jesuit, actively busied among their ranks to assure them of victory. They were routed with great slaughter, and among the dead was found the body of Allen. Malby received a letter of congratulation from the Earl of Desmond ; but, on the body of Allen, several papers were found, by which his complicity in the rebellion was made clear. His congratulations were answered by severe rebuke and exhortation to return to his allegiance. The advice was unheeded.

Desmond escaped for the present, by the removal of Malby from his post. For the rest, we must refer to his life. We cannot, however, afford to follow the tangled thread of his perverse and infatuated course to its tragic end.

The unhappy result of Grey's appointment with a commission to end this miserable rebellion by decided measures, in entire ignorance of the country, and with wholly insufficient force and means, may be

despatched in a few words. The O'Byrnes had taken an unassailable position in the Wicklow mountains, whence they issued their defiance against the Queen's government. Grey, in his ignorant indignation, issued a peremptory order to his officers to march with their troops, and drive the rebels from their hold. The officers and their men were aware of the rashness of the attempt, but, not unlike the heroes of a later occasion, undismayed by inevitable destruction, they came through a marsh into a labyrinth of rocks difficult to surmount, and scrambled with broken order in the face of an invisible enemy. In this laborious and confused scramble they were met by a shower of bullets, volley upon volley, without the power of resistance or retreat. Among the slain the most distinguished officers fell ; and Lord Grey was compelled to recall the remnant of his force, without even an attack, and return to Dublin in shame and dismay.

This mortifying incident was followed by a fresh alarm from the south. Philip yet retained his inveterate purpose. It was fully known that he was bent on vengeance against the Queen, and that an expedition was in course of preparation to effect a second and more formidable landing in Ireland. Admiral Winter was stationed on the coast of Kerry ; but being ill provisioned, and meeting dangerous weather, was forced to return to refit and obtain the needful supplies. During his absence, a force of 700 Spaniards, with a large body of Italians, were safely landed at Smerwick, with arms and ammunition for a still larger force of Irish, and a sum of money to be delivered to Desmond. Ormonde marched against them. On his first approach they took refuge in the woods, but soon discovering the weakness of his hastily collected force, they resumed their first position. Ormonde drew off his scanty force, and awaited at Rathkeal for the promised junction of the Lord Deputy. Lord Grey presently made his appearance with 800 men, and Winter's fleet at the same time regained its station. The fort was thus invested by land and sea ; and the enemy was summoned to surrender. The answer is worth full record. They were, they said, sent by the Pope and the king of Spain to extirpate heresy, and reduce the country to the obedience of Philip, whom the Pope had invested with the lawful sovereignty. At the same time they attempted a sally, but were driven back.

Next night, Winter landed and completed a strong battery with the artillery from his ships, seconded by Lord Grey's arrangements on the other side. The garrison was summoned again at dawn, but they did not apprehend their danger ; and repeated their bold refusal. A fierce cannonade followed, and they soon perceived the error of their expectations. The Irish whom they trusted, failed to come to their aid, and the Spanish officers in command became sensible of the necessity of an endeavour to gain terms. But Grey insisted on a surrender at discretion, and no alternative remained. The page of history is stained with the event ; the Italian leader, with some officers, were made prisoners of war. The rebels were adjudged to death, and a company commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh was marched into the fort, to execute the fearful sentence. It was said in extenuation that this could not be avoided ; and on full consideration, the difficulty must be apprehended. The prisoners were too numerous for any means of dis-

posal, and the army threatened to mutiny if restrained from spoil. The judgment of a deliberate court-martial could not have been wholly decided by demoniac revenge, nor without apparent grounds of necessity. The Deputy wept at the sentence; and the Queen expressed her strong displeasure. The report was industriously improved by the Romish agents and emissaries. Humanity must shudder in the relation of deeds, however they may be vindicated by necessity, or palliated by strict justice, or paralleled by the similar or worse atrocities of the party, the people, or the authority which would presume to judge. But we must forbear.

To enter upon the incessant risings, at this period disturbing the peace and repressing the efforts of improvement, would be to extend our preface into a volume. North, south, east, and west, echoed each other with the din of malcontent, of rising, suppression, and resistance. De Burghs and Kildares, names now associated with the high respect of civilized times, were formidable to the ear of peaceful industry and quiet government. The rumour of insurrection was often rendered awful in the apprehension of the peaceful hearer on either side, by the whispers of a root and branch extirpation apprehended by either party. The Sicilian vespers, or the bloody vigil of St. Bartholomew, could not fail to cast their red reflection over those nations, which Irish patriots assume to have felt horror and detestation at the cruel deeds of Smerwick, and the unsanctioned execution of military law on obstinate rebellion and unprovoked invasion.

At the same period, the tragic end of the last Earl of Desmond seemed to offer a fit occasion to secure many fair provisions for the peaceful improvement of a large district long kept back by his turbulent occupation. But many obstacles intervened:—the Queen's economy, the reluctance of many influential noblemen, and the prejudices of the English parliament, then, as ever, grossly ignorant of Irish interests.

We are compelled by our limits to omit many incidents which should be treated according to their local importance in the history of this reign. Great improvements in the condition of the people, in the administration of the laws, and in the settlement of lands, were, in the few years remaining of Queen Elizabeth's reign, effected by the wisdom and activity of Perrot and his immediate successor; and, at the same time, neutralized by the feuds and intrigues of chiefs, and the constant irritation of the inferior classes, kept alive by the under-working arts of the papal emissaries, which permitted no beneficent law or wholesome social process to have its effect. The most auspicious event of Elizabeth's reign was the foundation of the university of Dublin, long to be obscured by the vapours of sedition and the storms of petty insurrection which filled the age, but destined to endure through many gloomy changes, to be the light of better days, and to gradually impart the dawn of moral and intellectual day to future generations; unless that cycle of darkness, to which the social state of man seems limited, shall bring back the age of periodic disruption, which seems to menace the latter days of the 19th century. It was the harbinger of Ireland's civilization—of the day of Grattan, Burke, Plunket, and Bushe, and their immortal compeers, the giants of their day.

This establishment was, we believe, first formally proposed in the parliament of 1559, and successively taken up by Sydney and Perrot. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, opposed to the scheme of these eminent men, proposed and matured the plan ultimately adopted. The monastery of Allhallows, erected by Dermot MacMurrough in the neighbourhood of Dublin, was chosen by the Prelate. The site had been vested in the mayor and citizens of Dublin, who, on the Archbishop's urgent application, granted it freely. The Queen accorded her royal charter, which passed the seals 29th December 1591. For the rest we may refer to the authority of the University Calendar.

We have slightly passed the incidents of this troubled period; the wars of Tyrone, in which some successes gained by the rebels, led to a great increase of violence and popular excitement, and proportional discouragement of the royalists. The Queen, evidently reluctant to waste men and money on these interminable broils, protracted the reign of bloodshed and hate, by withholding the only resources necessary for its termination. The last event of Elizabeth's reign—which we shall for a moment delay to notice—was the invasion from Spain under Don Juan. When Lord Mountjoy was governor of Ireland, the rumour of a Spanish descent was gaining ground, to the terror of the peaceful settlers, and the encouragement of the rebel chiefs. The king of Spain was still inveterate in his thirst for vengeance against the queen for her aid to the Netherlands. He is blamed by historians for having been tardy in the execution of his design. Had he availed himself of the recent successes of the rebel leaders, the distress of the country would have been extreme, and many secret enemies of the government would have declared themselves. It was also said that the expedition was unskilfully timed and directed. It took place in September 1601. A part of the Spanish squadron was driven into Baltimore by stress of weather, but the main fleet entered Kinsale without resistance. The feeble garrison retired. Messengers were despatched to Tyrone and O'Donnel, on whose invitation the Spanish force had been sent, to urge their speedy presence; and the Romish monks were everywhere on the alert among the people, with splendid promises and strong denunciations against the government of the heretical and excommunicated queen. The Munster people, at this time, were anxiously inclined for peace, and many of the chiefs waited upon the Deputy to assure him of their fidelity to the Queen's government. It has been alleged that the Irish leaders were so much repelled by the proud deportment and offensive coldness of Don Juan, that they very generally drew back, and left him to the consequence. The Spanish commander, who came flushed with the sense of high command, and expected to find the kingdom under his hand, found himself shut within the walls of a small town, besieged by the English and deserted by his professing allies. The siege was, however, interrupted by intelligence of the approach of the northern chiefs with considerable forces. The English army was therefore divided to meet them, but without immediate success. The rebel troops melted away before Carew's march, and disappeared among the woods and morasses, so that after a fruitless and fatiguing march he had to return to Kinsale. Fresh reinforcements from England and from the

Pale soon came up, and Admiral Leviston with ten thousand soldiers and military stores, and 3,000 more with the Earl of Thomond, considerably strengthened the President. The siege was carried on slowly, but without interruption from the Spaniards, whose sorties were all repulsed. When summoned, they answered that they held the town for Christ and the king of Spain; and sent a challenge to single combat from Don Juan to the President.

While matters were thus protracted, the Irish leaders standing aloof from their Spanish allies thus at disadvantage, circumstances occurred to give a new impulse to their flagging courage. A fresh arrival of six Spanish transports reached Castlehaven, and landed 2,000 men, with military stores to a large amount, and announced six more ships to follow. Tyrone and O'Donnel immediately joined this reinforcement, and the assurance of certain victory spread through all the Septs, so lately lavish of loyal profession. All the south were eager to be foremost, and put such forts as they possessed in the hands of their imagined deliverers. Don Juan garrisoned those places, and gave rewards and commissions to his patriotic friends. The situation of the English appeared now sensibly reversed; they were in a state of siege. Don Juan pressed his Irish allies to attack them. Tyrone justly saw the risk, and urged the wiser and safer expedient of leaving them to the infallible effect of the cold and famine, from which they were beginning to suffer. Don Juan, in his romantic infatuation, would not listen to this prudent counsel, but peremptorily insisted on the advance of Tyrone; the Irish chief thus pressed, advanced. He was met by the Lord Deputy with a comparative handful of men, while the walls were watched by the President with the main force of the army. As the English detachment approached, the people of Tyrone turned and fled. They were rallied, and offered some ineffectual resistance to their pursuers; but the cavalry which covered their hasty retreat being charged by the Earl of Clanricarde and by Wingfield, were dispersed, and increased the confusion by their flight. A third body made a feeble resistance and followed the same example. The Spanish party from Castlehaven, which had accompanied the march of Tyrone, fought bravely and met their fate on the field; those who escaped the sword were made prisoners. O'Donnel's force in the rear retired without a blow; 1,200 were slain, and 800 wounded. The English lost one officer, and a few soldiers wounded. The leaders on both sides were equally astonished at such a victory and such a defeat.

The Spanish general's mistake, in urging this attack by a rabble of undisciplined men upon a trained and regular force, was followed by another, which may have aggravated the disappointment felt at so unexpected a result. The English on their return to the coast fired guns in celebration of their victory. Don Juan mistook the incident, and marched out to welcome his victorious friends. His astonished sight was met by the Spanish ensigns waving in hostile hands. He could not believe that Tyrone's populous array could have been honestly beaten by so small a force, and suspected treachery on the part of the Irish chiefs. In his rage, he sought a parley, and proposed to treat on honourable terms for the surrender of the town. We may not here enter on the details of this parley; they came to a conclusion, by the

terms of which, the Spaniard delivered up the towns and forts of which the Irish had put him into possession. In this, Don Juan manifested a high sense of chivalric spirit; when the fort of Berehaven was to be summoned, O'Sullivan, who had given it up to the Spaniards, disarmed the garrison, and prepared to defend the place. Don Juan offered his aid to Carew for its recovery; this was, however, refused. Carew proceeded to bring up his forces by sea and besieged the fort. Having stormed the upper part, there was still an obstinate struggle maintained in the lower chambers, and the captain of the garrison being mortally wounded, attempted to blow up the fort. This desperate act was prevented, the fort was surrendered, and demolished by the English.

Peace was far from being attained. The promise of Spanish invasion was still continued, and the expectation kept alive and propagated through the priests and other papal emissaries. A wide-spreading and deadly strife was maintained by the parties on either side. The vindictive temper of private animosity became awakened and diffused; the thunder of excommunication added its share of theological rancour; and mutual aggravation laid up a treasured hate for the next generation. They who fell into rebel hands were butchered as enemies to the Pope; the rebel was hanged. Nor was there a pause in this reciprocity of bloodshed, till, in the course of the protracted struggle, the leaders of the rebellion had been slain or reduced to submission, and a cessation of all but silent hate followed for a season.

We here pass the intervening details of the contemporaneous contest of the Deputy with the two great northern chiefs—Tyrone and O'Donnel—who saw their necessity of submission from an increasing inability to resist, and the growing weakness of their party. It may be enough to say, that their submission was received.

CHAPTER II.

James I.—Charles I.—Cromwell—Charles II.—Accession of James II.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 opened an order of events, in some important respects new. The period was one of present tranquillity. The contest of sovereignty was settled; while the land yet lay under the desolation of the deadly tempests of war which had swept over it in continued succession for so lengthened a period. But it was still a nation without a government, or in any proper sense a constitution; a people without law or trade, or any but the rudest elements of social existence, dragged on in despite of fierce resistance in the wake of the dominant nation, on which it was thereafter to depend for progress.

The spirit of rebellion was, for the time, subdued; but the forbearance from military repression, and power of martial terror, caused the development of an arrogant temper of resistance and contumacious pretension. Though rebellion did not venture to appear in arms, it was not less free of tongue, or persistent in all safe opposition. The citizens of Waterford boldly refused to open their gates to Mountjoy:

and Doctor White, accompanied by a Dominican friar, visited his lordship's tent, to prove from Augustine, that a king opposed to the Romish faith could not be obeyed. Mountjoy listened with courtesy, and having the book in his tent, showed that it was falsely quoted by the Doctor. He then apprised the refractory citizens, who (more sensibly) pleaded a charter of King John, that he held the sword of King James, with which he would "cut the charter of King John to pieces; that he would level their city with the ground, and strew it with salt." This threat saved the historic immunity of the maiden city, clearly proving the advantage of valour tempered by discretion. The gates were thrown open, allegiance to King James sworn, and a strong garrison stationed. Other chief cities followed the instructive example; Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and Cork, all complied, and received garrisons in turn. An act of oblivion and indemnity was published by proclamation, under the great seal, to quiet the fear of the many who must have felt themselves yet within the suspicion of the government. This humane and wise precaution was the winding up of Mountjoy's administration in Ireland.

Many salutary laws were passed, and useful arrangements adopted, on which we will not now enter—as the beneficial results were soon to be reversed, and counteracted in no distant time by succeeding events—after which the same sanative policy may be more fully traced in these pages.

The important event of the ensuing reign, was the plantation of Ulster, which may be considered as the second great step in the real advance of Ireland, from the Anglo-Norman settlement under Henry. At the period to which our summary has arrived, the real condition of the people was virtually not more advanced than in the days of Mac-Murrough. The nominal possessor of large districts, whether of Celtic or Norman race, possessed the same barbarous notions of feudal power and territorial occupation which were held in the 10th or 11th century. The laws of person and property, the administration of justice and the customs of the people, were on the same ancient level, out of which neither theory nor historic precedent offers any probable course of regular advance. The first Anglo-Norman settlement, reduced to its genuine results, was not so much an advance as a step upon that level, from which, in the course of ages, the path was to be gained; one barbarian race was linked to another; but that other, somewhat less stationary, was destined in time to draw it slowly forward. The retarding forces we have fully noticed; how long they were to operate is undecided still. In the earlier years of the 17th century the land was comparatively worthless to occupant or lord. If we except the counties of the Pale, there was little cultivation; beyond this limit there lay a waste of forest and morass, affording scanty pasture for meagre flocks. At the accession of James, the population was less than one-thirteenth of the mean returns of our time. The measure of a Plantation had presented itself to the common sense of the former generation, and had been undertaken and partially executed in several instances under Queen Elizabeth; but an important condition was wanting. New blood, new life, customs, and habits, were what was wanting, and were to be now supplied by the Scottish experience and the larger economy of King

James ; a monarch less remembered for considerable intellectual endowments, than for the moral and personal incapacities by which they were largely neutralized. We would be far from rejecting the strictures of those who have sketched his manners and character somewhat grotesquely ; but it is our impression that, although the features are not untruly drawn, the likeness has been imperfectly caught. Scott, in one of those unrivalled master-pieces which must for ever leave *longo intervallo* behind all competition in moral portraiture, or in reanimating the life of other days, has painted the pedant king with his usual force and freedom of hand. But the outward expression does not always reveal the spirit within. The most observable features of character in ordinary deportment, or in personal conduct, are not intellectual so much as moral ; he who in cell or cabinet may be profound and subtle to combine and generalize or discern, may go forth a fool and a simpleton, impulsive, rash, and blundering into the walk of everyday life. For though reason, experience, and normal rules govern the study, men act from habit, motive, feeling, and routine. The greatest mathematician of our time was found to show a remarkable incapacity for official business. The case is somewhat different ; but King James was very much what Sully has described, "the wisest fool in Christendom ;" or in the more elaborate description of Scott, "deeply learned without possessing useful knowledge ; sagacious in many cases without having real wisdom ; fond of his power, and desirous to retain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that power and of himself to the most unworthy favourites ; a big and bold asserter of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds ; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted ; and a fearer of war when conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by low familiarities ; capable of much public labour, yet often neglecting it for the lowest amusements ; a wit, though a pedant ; and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform, and there were moments of his life when he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler when serious labour was required." We have been tempted beyond our purpose to continue this somewhat over-laboured and antithetic character of a monarch to whom Ireland is indebted for the first step of her national regeneration.

Many circumstances prepared the way for this great act of paternal policy. The forfeitures already mentioned, which gave him the disposal of half a million of acres without leaving cause for just complaint ; the popular expectation felt from a monarch in whom the ancient line of Milesius was thought to be restored ; he was also the son of a mother who was regarded as a martyr for the Church of Rome. His first step was the essential preliminary to the construction of a social state, having its foundation in the security of rights. The Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind were cancelled by judgment in the King's Bench, and these rude laws abolished. The law courts were organized, and the circuits established in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. The distribution of property was preceded by the provision for its security. Existing rights were to be settled and ascertained, and com-

missions were accordingly issued to ascertain and secure the rightful possessor. They who held their estate by tanistry were invited to surrender and receive possession by letters patent, and thus acquire permanent possession for themselves and their natural heirs. And the consequence was a general surrender on these advantageous terms. A similar arrangement was entered into for the cities, respecting their corporate possessions.

The larger forfeitures had place in Ulster, where the lands, long neglected, were at this time reduced to desolation; the sword had co-operated with famine to depopulate a wide extent of territory.

The king laid down a well-devised plan, of which the execution was mainly intrusted to Sir Arthur Chichester. The lands were divided into portions of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres, to be allotted with suitable conditions to their respective classes of grantees according to their rank. They were bound to build, cultivate, and sublet, upon certain fixed terms. The first class were to build a castle and a strong courtyard enclosing it, within four years, and to keep 600 acres in demesne; to settle four fee farmers, having each 120 acres. They were obliged to have 48 able-bodied men of English or Scottish descent on the estates. The others were bound by similar conditions according to their respective grants. The several tenures were also fixed: The first class to hold of the king *in capite*; the second by knight service, and the third in common soccage. They were all bound to five years' residence, or to have agents appointed by government. It was also enacted, that none of these grantees should alienate his lands without a royal license, set at uncertain rents, or for terms less than three lives or 21 years.

The merit of this effective scheme is mainly due to Sir Arthur Chichester, grandson by his mother to Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle in Devonshire, thus deriving his lineage from Charlemagne. He became early somewhat notorious for a youthful frolic, more in keeping with the manners of his time than reconcilable to modern notions; the Queen's purveyors, the instruments of despotic exaction, were objects of popular hatred, and, like the bailiffs of sixty years ago in our western counties, regarded as fair game for mischief by country gentlemen; it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the example of Prince Hal, and ease the licensed spoiler of his plunder. The exploit was discovered, and, as the joke was considered as no laughing matter by Elizabeth, who was to suffer the loss; Chichester was for a time compelled to seek refuge in France. There he was taken into favour with Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation reached the ear of Queen Elizabeth, who with her known inclination to promote rising talent, was thus induced to recall him and pardon the youthful indiscretion.

After some years of military service, he was sent into Ireland, where he soon distinguished himself in the war against the Earl of Tyrone; and was among the most able officers under Mountjoy. He was soon appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; he signalized his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing justice and order throughout the country.

Many projects for the plantation of Ulster had, at King James' desire, been submitted for his inspection; that of Chichester was

chosen, and the details were carried through by his active zeal and ability.

There is a remarkable passage in a letter to Chichester from the king, which is worth extracting for its description of the country and the time. "*Hiberniæ, post Britanniam omnium insularum occidentalium, maximæ et amplissimæ et pulcherrimæ, cœli et soli felicitate et fecunditate affluentis et insignis, sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditionum et rebellionum fluctibus jactata; necnon superstitioni et barbaris moribus, presertim in provincia Ultonum, adictæ et immersæ.*"

Chichester continued in the government for ten years till 1613, and took a principal part in the troubles which we shall presently have to notice.

The native Irish who received lands under this settlement, were exempted from most of the conditions imposed on the English; while these were compelled to people their lands with a British tenantry, the Irish grantee was allowed to let to natives; an arrangement in some measure detrimental, but not in fairness to be avoided. The Irish were also exempted from building castles, or fortified places, or from arming their tenantry; an exemption of which the policy is obvious. They were, however, restrained from the barbarous customs till then incidental to Irish proprietors and their tenants. They were obliged to set their lands for certain rents, and for certain terms of years; all denominations of Irish dependency and exaction were prohibited. English methods of cultivation were imposed, and the custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for pasture forbidden. They were also enjoined to dwell together in villages like the English tenantry. Under these conditions, the lands disposable in Ulster were distributed among one hundred and four English and Scotch, and two hundred and eighty-six native undertakers, who all covenanted and agreed by their bonds to perform all these conditions.

It had been experienced in the former plantation under Elizabeth, that great evils, amounting, in fact, to the failure of all the objects of the measure, had resulted from the intermixture of the English and natives. The Irish, who were naturally reluctant to give up their own ways of cultivation and management of property, did not thrive in the same rapid course as their British neighbours, and became discontented, disorderly, and insubordinate to the settled jurisdiction. The British, on their part, rather looking to their immediate personal advantage or disadvantage, than upon the ultimate policy of the Settlement, soon found attractions, as well as irregular advantages, in falling into the less constrained and less orderly habits of their neighbours. If honest industry becomes insecure, and is defrauded of its direct and immediate objects, the commencement of demoralization is not long retarded in any stage of social advance. It was at this time determined to prevent the recurrence of these disadvantages by separating the two races. We are far from approving of the abstract policy of such an expedient; but considering all circumstances, it was necessary to immediate success, though less reconcilable to longer views: but all measures of governments must needs be adapted to the time that is present. The attempt to legislate for the future is the most dangerous of all kinds of quackery,

and far beyond the bounded range of human intellect. The soundest measure is only beneficial according to the steadiness and honesty with which its operation is carried out : it was the defect of the policy of the Irish government of that period that it was never to be thoroughly carried out in its details.

The Irish undertakers were, much to their own advantage, located on the plains, and on situations of easy access ; their allotment was thus the most fertile for agriculture. The British, on the contrary, were disposed of rather with regard to their safety, and for the preservation of their manners, customs, and language ; their lands were therefore in the more boggy and mountainous tracts, and far less profitable. They were at the same time interdicted from intermarriage with the Irish ; and a regulation more inconsistent with the further objects of the settlement cannot easily be conceived. Providentially, indeed, among the many pernicious abuses which defeated the beneficence of the English government, these feeble restraints could never be maintained.

Such was the settlement of Ulster, which, whatever exceptions may be made, was the wisest and most fortunate measure of British policy in Ireland. A measure from which, by a connexion of circumstances too simple to be further explained, may be traced the superior civilization and prosperity of that Province.

The improvement of the new plantation, under the able superintendence of Chichester, was rapid and decisive. Notwithstanding the numerous defalcations and abuses inseparable from all great and thorough-working measures, the whole results confirmed the wisdom of what had been effectively, though not with unexceptionable precision, carried into operation. Numerous undertakers observed their stipulated engagements, and thriving farms soon covered the face of the country ; castles, with their villages and respectable yeomanry tenants, gave it an orderly and civilized appearance. Several towns were built, and obtained the privilege of fairs and markets. Thus commenced, on a secure basis, the structure of a civilized, industrious, and commercial Province. To complete this fair beginning, the king erected some of these towns into corporations, with the right of sending members to parliament.

Plowden, a historian of considerable learning and research, but of views singularly confined, and writing manifestly under the strong influence of national feeling, quotes from Cox the apportionment of forfeited lands, for the express purpose of showing the small share given to the old possessors. But the statement does not support his proposition. The distribution was as follows :—

	Acres.
To the Landowners and Undertakers,	209,800
The Bishops' mensal lands,	3,413
The Bishops' Termon and Erenachs,	72,780
The College,	5,630
Free Schools,	2,700
Incumbents' Glebes,	18,000
Old Glebes,	1,208
Deans and Prebends,	1,473
Servitors and Natives,	116,330
Restored to M'Guire,	5,980

To several Irish,	.	.	.	.	.	1,548
Impropriations and Abbey Lands,	.	.	.	.	.	21,552
Old Patentees and Fords,	.	.	.	.	.	38,224

These distributions of the land were accompanied or immediately followed by several changes well calculated to spread satisfaction through all classes. The sessions of Ulster were extended or restored in Connaught and Munster; the law of tanistry and gavelkind abolished and replaced by the British law of inheritance; the serf class emancipated from their chiefs; and a generally favourable sense of the English government, for a transient hour excited. Many of the chiefs, though deprived of somewhat of popular authority, saw the superior advantages of order and lawful government. The recent disorders inflicted on all, through the violence of Tyrone, imparted a sense of the value of peace, and the necessity of a strong-handed jurisdiction and defined rights.

We may for the present pass the numerous and minute conditions respecting the settlement and distribution of the lesser divisions of estates. They were planned upon the fairest principles of expedience, limited by justice. But to those who can allow for the customs of the country, and the habits of the age, it must be understood that every cause in the least open to discontent of the tenant, or the grasping of official malversation, was soon in full play. In the execution, unlicensed claims were to be met, and spurious patents under pretended claims of the Crown; these were wisely met by a "commission of grace" under the great seal, by which the Subject was secured against all claims of the Crown. The chief was secured by exchanging his Irish life tenure for a tenure by grant; but at the same time limited to the estate in his actual possession; his tenants were fixed and bound in their tenures by the valuation of former duties to the Lord. A similar policy was applied respecting corporations and their charters.

The effects of these more favourable arrangements were fated to be postponed to times yet distant. It is easier to make laws and economical changes, than to alter the implanted habit of a generation; laws can be made or repealed, but the traditions of a people hold their place. Faction, superstition, and rooted discontent, the habit of sedition and conspiracy, were indigenous in the soil, and surviving recollections, the embers of ancient wrath, kept alive the undying flame to break forth on the moment of occasion.

James, in the latter years of his reign, was driven to the adoption of several projects to raise his revenue, and to remedy the mischievous and disorderly working of his well-devised plans. Of these, some were not only unsuccessful, but productive of discontent and alarm. The project of correcting the abuse and misapplication of large grants to cities and corporations by resumption of the lands, was soon discouraged by a just apprehension of the consequences.

The Connaught proprietors, who had surrendered and received a reconveyance of their estates in Elizabeth's reign, were surprised and alarmed to find themselves insecure, by the neglect of the officers of the Crown to enroll their patents. Their lands were consequently adjudged to be still vested in the Crown. On the strength of this iniquitous omission, the king was advised to establish a new settlement

in Connaught. This injustice was met by strenuous remonstrance, and at last by a compromise, not very honourable to the king's government. The wronged lords were to be let off for fine and composition. They were released by the king's death.

In March 1625, Charles I. was proclaimed. His troubles may be said to have commenced with his reign. He was soon entangled between the Protestant Commons of England and the Popish influences of his matrimonial alliance with the crown of France. He was constrained to assent to a public petition to enforce the laws against papists and priests, and not less compelled to suffer the celebration of mass in his own house, and open his doors to the swarm of priests who flocked around his queen. He was immediately engaged in a contest with people and parliament on supplies, and entered on a war of which he was forced to disguise the object from his protestant subjects. But with these inauspicious beginnings, we are not directly concerned; for Ireland, the after results were calamitous.

A policy of conciliation had, for the latter years of the late reign, been pursued by Falkland in Ireland; but at last the ill consequences were become too prominently apparent for compromise. It was now presumed not unnaturally that the king, surrounded by Popish influences, must be in favour of the Irish priests; under this persuasion, the priests began to assume an arrogant tone, and to parade their ceremonies and offensive processions in the streets of Dublin. They went even so far as to seize and forcibly appropriate some of the churches. Loftus and the Earl of Cork, who succeeded Falkland in the government, would have adopted harsh measures to check these presumptuous indications, but were for a time restrained by the king. At length, it so happened that a Carmelite fraternity, encouraged by continued indulgence, ventured on a great public procession in Dublin, and forcibly repelled a weak attempt to dispel them. This rashness compelled the king to act with a show of decision, and fifteen religious houses were seized, with a new Popish seminary.

At last the expediency of a firmer and more decided government was sensibly required to compose these troubled elements; and perhaps still more, to improve the financial returns, so mainly necessary to the growing wants of the king. Wentworth's government has been the subject of lavish condemnation by latter historians; we do not propose to defend him, but one thing is clear; it is admitted that his severities were no more than necessary to quiet contentions which could not be reconciled, and compel the awards of justice and equity to be submitted to. Law, to be heard, was to speak in thunder. The great administrative capacities of Wentworth were beneficially exerted to restrain disorders inconsistent with peace, order, or safety; though, we can admit, that his powers and formidable influence were harshly strained for what he regarded as higher obligation in the prosecution of the royal interests. With those objects we may confess a want of sympathy, but the lesson which Wentworth left of heroic fidelity and courage cannot be recollected without praise. Some allowance must be made for a truth enforced by the constant experience of many generations; that the complaints of the public incendiary, of every description or class, take the tone of suffering virtue, of popular sympathy or patriotic in-

dignation. Wentworth, in common with the master whom he served, must be admitted to have carried the rule of despotism too far, to have lost sight of justice in his earnest sense of the exigencies of the English government; he was too lightly impressed with the consideration due to a people whose want of loyal feeling, of respect for rights and imperfectly suppressed hostility, repelled trust, and continually kept sterner feelings alive. Wentworth, who well knew, from personal experience, the dangers of the approaching state of things, and whose practised sagacity could not fail to discern the indications of the contest soon to set in between the Commons of England and the Crown, had little heart or spirit for the arduous and hitherto impracticable work, which, in less stormy times, should have been his main duty, and could it be successful, the glory of his name and memory. A state of things was not distantly arising, to involve both countries in common disaster for no brief period, and which was to render of small eventual value all that could then be effected for Ireland. The ocean tide was swelling to flood both islands, and to sweep away boundaries and landmarks; it was no time for calm cultivation, or the gentler courses of peaceful economy.

A new policy was in fact then required by an unperceived change in the times. The people of Ireland had for a generation been prepared by many lessons, and by several acts of a wise policy, to receive and rightly appreciate the benefits of a just paternal government; a just, but firm maintenance of law, and the assertion of a stern control over the Papal encroachments, was all that was needed. Both people and chiefs had attained to a sense of their true interests, if repeated provocation did not drive them too often back into the arms of treason and ultramontane seduction. But these more favourable conditions were interrupted by the civil wars, which now began to disturb the repose of England—and for a hapless interval, to withdraw all fostering care from Irish interests. The dawn of constitutional freedom was not destined to rise in the sunshine and smile of heaven; and Ireland, scarcely emerged from the desolating struggle of 1641, was doomed to share to the utmost, all the disastrous results, without the eventual compensations.

From such considerations, we are led to the darkest period of Irish history. Of necessity we shall have to state the discovery and main outline of the massacre of 1641 in our memoirs of those mainly concerned in its detection or involved in its guilt. We must now review its proceedings more generally with respect to the causes, or as affecting the after-course of national events.

Its main cause must be looked for in the long-continued course of discontents and disorders by which it was preceded—fomented by the papal agency, ever on the watch to keep alive the discontents of the nation against their Protestant rulers; by those who hoped to regain what they had lost by forfeiture; by those who were irritated by the stern suppression of disorder and by the assertion of laws by which their personal license had been suppressed; and lastly, with more just reason, by those who felt that in the state exigencies of the time, exaction had been strained, and remonstrance too peremptorily silenced, by an authority which carried with it the insult of contempt.

But all this might of itself have passed away, leaving behind but the

beneficial effects. Good laws were enacted, an orderly system of executive government in some measure established, and the majority of the nobles and commons seeing the necessity of submission, gave their free consent. The scene was ere long changed by the rapid progress of the civil wars in England. It was soon perceived that the king was beginning to be involved in difficulties, which must deprive him of all power of interference in Irish concerns. And they, who at no time lost sight of the chances of conspiracy, soon began to plot, and by every usual art, frame an extensive rebellion. Their power over the peasantry, through their priesthood, was nothing less than absolute.

The Lord Maguire, who was the main contriver and most authentic historian of this rebellion, was joined by Sir Phelim O'Neil, the chief actor, Roger Moore, and others, whose respective parts we have related; as also the account of its first discovery by the incaution of O'Connelly.

About the actual insurrection, several accounts remain, mostly agreeing in the one fact, that great numbers of every age and sex were butchered by the native Irish at the command of their leaders. And it remains on credible record, that they acted on the avowed design to massacre all the English without any exception. It has been a question as to the number of the victims to this horrible revel of murder. It has been much under, and as much over rated on either side, by the friends or opponents of Irish disaffection; each of which may be identified in the writings or politics of the descendants of the same parties, whose names are eminent in the records of that evil time. In making such a remark, it is proper to mark the qualification due to the different period in which we live—civil and social cultivation—the long annihilation of the traditionary rights for which they plotted and murdered; and the more firm and solid safeguards of the rights which time has affirmed, have helped to assuage the rancours and bloodthirsty impulses, which ruled the chiefs and serfs of that dark day. Yet it cannot be denied that the family features of the race may be traced in the incendiary deceiver and the hereditary dupe, who seek, by more specious means, to gain the same ends. As to the actual amount of the slaughtered English settlers—from an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (October 1865) we learn that the fact of the massacre of 1641 has been denied by a recent writer, whom the critic, though not participating in his monstrous and almost inexplicable mistake, praises for general accuracy. At the same time justly observing the “partiality, which tinges his whole narrative—a partiality which has led him, like Lingard and Curry, to suppress or exaggerate (according as the case concerns the Irish natives or the English settlers) sufferings and atrocities, too monstrous in themselves to be either exaggerated or disguised.” Every writer of the actual period, who adverts to that sad history, has left some high amount on record. The Jesuit O'Mahony boasts 150,000 slain in four years by his party. Carte states that in the first year the slaughter amounted to 37,000, confirmed by Sir W. Petty's computation. The writers of the ultramontane, or of the democratic parties, have generally tried to soften those terrible details, as the advocacy of their insidious designs required. The evil was in some measure aggravated by the unwise expedient of Strafford, of disarming the Protestants, who, it was feared, would take part against the king, then at war with

the Scottish party in England. It is yet to be recorded, that numbers were saved by their courage, and found refuge in the towns. Unhappily, as has happened in later times, the crimes of one party brought on in the natural course the not less criminal retaliations of the opposite. In some months after these atrocities had commenced, and while yet at their height, the example was too faithfully followed at Newry, where as little mercy was shown by the Scottish troops to the helpless crowd who surrendered there.

In feeling compelled to make these passing statements required by the connection of our summary, we at the same time would willingly spare the language of party recrimination. It is not easy to exclude from the memory some sense of the old national animosities of sect or party, which never have been yet allowed to rest in the grave of the O'Neils and O'Mores of that dark day, and have often since called up the same sanguinary Spirits to revisit the scene of their old atrocities. But the impartial historian, however he may feel in duty, and in regard to truth and justice, bound to vindicate the right, and to condemn where condemnation is due, will recollect the state of those dark times which gave a fatal concentration to the prejudices and resentments which belong to unenlightened humanity, and which, even in our own age of comparative civilization, can hardly be restrained from similar excesses; for this, we need hardly recall the Bridge of Wexford or Shruel, or the fires of Scullabogue. The same deeds which are the disgrace and shameful boast of our Celtic sires, have been designed by the living representatives of the brave Maguires and Sir Phelimis of 1641. The wisdom of government, and still more, the admirable conduct, spirit, and judicial firmness and ability of the illustrious men who sit on the Irish bench, have under Providence saved the country from an attempted renewal of scenes which are never likely to be out of date.*

But we are compelled to hasten on. The effects of the Irish Rebellion were destined to advance the proceedings and materially decide the results of the civil wars on the other side of the channel,—by which they were prolonged and finally doomed to meet a rude termination. They presently afforded the pretext for extensive levies of troops and money for their suppression, but to be employed to strengthen the parliamentary cause, and to reduce the power with the resources of King Charles.

* To the Irish peasantry of this generation, there is due a debt of justice. The accelerated progress of art, commercial and general knowledge in the 19th century, has not advanced without diffusing a large impulse and portion of its light amongst them. The peasantry have by slow degrees been acquiring not only much of the externals of civilization—dress, manner, and the English language—but with those apparent advantages, a truer sense of their real interests, and of the retarding influence of their old barbarous prejudices and superstitious delusions. These happier changes are due in the greatest measure to a cause not yet fairly acknowledged—the earnest and self-devoted labours, for the last 40 years, of the Protestant clergy, who have of late been falsely taunted with the little progress in conversions which they are said to have made in the south and west. But a silent and unobserved result has followed on their labours, of which we may hereafter have occasion to notice the details. The character of Popery itself has been imperceptibly changed by an infusion of scriptural light, which, like the first grey dawn of twilight on our western hills, has awakened numbers of those who call themselves Catholics to Christian convictions. And while the grosser errors of the ultramontaniam have been fast sinking down among the dregs of older ignorance, even their very priesthood have been compelled to recognise and conform to the change.



The first great change caused in the aspect of affairs, was the extension to Ireland of the main struggle between the king and the parliament; in such a manner, that the Rebellion in that country seemed for a season to acquire the character with the pretensions and forms of loyalty. An assembly was held in Kilkenny, in which the Royal authority was formally professed in connection with the interests of the chief rebel leaders, and under the insane guidance of the papal Nuncio Rinuncini. Considerable supplies and a considerable body of Irish soldiers were obtained for foreign service, and the royal cause was not ineffectively contested for a time; but not without a more real and sincere view to the objects of the papal see and leaders of the rebel faction, thus forwarded under cover of loyalty. This confusion of purpose, and the internal dissensions thus prevailing, were very considerable; and it was not long before the Marquis of Ormonde and other genuine supporters of the royal cause, discovered that they were surrounded by hollow and traitorous profession, and felt compelled to withdraw from the party which was only willing to use and betray them. With the decline of the royal cause the contest assumed a character less equivocal; and a long season of factious contention followed, when the reins of government dropped from every hand. The nominal peace of 1646, concluded in the king's name, was rendered abortive by the parliamentarian partizans, and by the Nuncio, who went beyond his commission in violence. He was backed in his opposition to peace by a strong party under Owen O'Neil, and became for some time the prominent authority in Ireland. By the success of O'Neil in a recent battle, this monk was enabled to exercise civil jurisdiction, displacing magistrates and public officers who refused submission to his orders. He excommunicated the commissioners at Waterford, and all who had any part in the peace. He, however, committed the oversight of an exceptional proviso in favour of loyalty, for which he received a reproof from Rome, by which he was instructed that the "Holy See" would never consent to approve the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to a "heretical prince."

The main object of Rinuncini was the possession of Dublin, and there to fix himself as governor. His intemperate violence soon caused dissension among his faction—O'Neil and Preston, his chief supporters, began to regard each other with suppressed animosity. O'Neil was earnestly devoted to the Nuncio's main commission to establish the papal sovereignty in the country. It soon began, in the course of the following year, to be more truly apprehended that the event of the contest was not likely to be in favour of Pope or king, and it became generally felt that the will of the parliament must decide the fate of all the factions. The wretched and mischievous monk was, with some difficulty, awakened from his crazed dream of exaltation, and persuaded to quit the country. A more formidable intruder was in preparation to appear upon the scene, and crush the factious parties which so long contended for pre-eminence, into terrified repose.

On the 15th of August, 1649, Cromwell landed with 12,000 men, of whom 4,000 were cavalry; and a large train of artillery. He first visited Dublin, where he settled the government under Colonel Jones; and from thence marched to Drogheda with 10,000 men.—On the 10th of the following month, the city had been well garrisoned and fortified,

and its defence was looked forward to with sanguine expectation, by the leaders of the Royal party; without, perhaps, sufficiently taking into calculation the composition of their garrison. Such hopes were doomed to disappointment. Cromwell battered the walls by a fire kept up for two days, and having obtained a wide practicable breach, found no resistance from within. What followed has been the subject of much unqualified animadversion, and the doubtful defence of a political and military expediency. The historian, whatever may be his creed or party, must shrink from any attempt to extenuate a cruelty so irrespective as to the victims, however beneficial or even necessary the proposed result. But though we cannot defend the massacre of a garrison which had laid down its arms, or of citizens who were innocent of resistance, it is fair that Cromwell should have the benefit of such motives and expedencies as have been urged in palliation of a proceeding as inexcusable by the laws of war as by those of humanity. Ten years of sanguinary faction, all through signalized by deeds of unredeemed atrocity, were likely to convey the impression that peaceful settlement must be hopeless, and that mercy could only result in the renewal of the same persistent and incorrigible course of murder and rapine. To arrest this by the only available expedient, however desperate, might seem not altogether inexcusable. Many cities were to be stormed, and the whole land must be washed in its blood, if it were to be subdued by force of arms. Terror was had recourse to, to obviate this terrible necessity, by a warrior hardened to the milder feeling of humanity in the long and rough training of cruel civil war. Cromwell's hard sagacity apprehended the consequence which followed—a consequence as merciful and politic as the means were inhuman and bloody. But it is also not less probable, though hardly more to be excused, that Cromwell was at the time much actuated by a resentful sense of the still more atrocious persecutions then at their height in Savoy and other lands of Europe in the same cause; by the authority or influence of the Pope, and the fanatic princes who massacred whole peaceful settlements and communities in his name. But we have been led farther than our design. To judge of men with perfect justice, it is fair to look back into the temper and condition of the times in which they acted. In that agitated period, a vindictive spirit and a spirit of terror breathed in the air of life. Persecution, conspiracy, and the aspect of change and revolution occupied and disquieted the mind of all. Strong hearts were strung to meet the emergencies by which the time or their position was surrounded, with a temper which silenced, at moments of trial, much of the affections which prevailed in the calm of peaceful times.

The end was as was expected. It is needless in this summary to accompany Cromwell in his rapid and decisive progress. He was called to England by the not less unsettled condition of affairs there; and left to Ireton the prosecution and final settlement of his campaign. His departure was the signal for the revival of the disorderly scenes of tumultuary conflict between the same old confederate factions composed of Irish chiefs and popish agitators—and loyalists now without more than the shadow of a cause or a name. The principal events of this interval will have to be noticed in our memoir of the Duke of Ormonde, the chief name of this transitionary period; and if virtue and goodness be

counted essential elements of greatness, well entitled to be esteemed the great man of his time.

The accession of Charles II., in 1660, excited many expectations and fears through both kingdoms, and several measures were adopted, which gave cause for satisfaction and discontent, so as to leave the different factions and parties eventually as they had been. The king had been served by many in his distresses, and came to the throne encumbered by promises, most of which he could not easily, and was not very intent to fulfil. Something was manifestly to be done for the security of his reign, and to quiet the more exacting of the strongest factions. The leanings of the king were to popery, but he was in the hands of the protestants, and more especially of the Puritan party.

It was in this position that a policy of compromise was found necessary. All parties were animated by mutual dislike, suspicion, and jealousy. All desired restoration to real or supposed rights, or to earned rewards. Many were emboldened to seize their former estates, and local contests followed which filled the country with fresh disorders, such as to create alarm and favour complaints of interested parties transmitted to the government; all seemed as the beginning of a new Rebellion. The Act of Indemnity then in preparation, was thus on the point of being rendered one of spoliation against all the old English proprietors. A proclamation against Irish rebels was published, and an Irish parliament proposed, for the security of the interests assumed to be endangered. This the king saw reason to postpone, in order to be first enabled to study at leisure how best to extricate himself from the embarrassment of conflicting rights, and arrive at some effective settlement.

This design was in no long time initiated by a declaration publishing the plan of a settlement, including several arrangements to establish the rights and claims of all parties, on principles of justice, and of their respective claims. These proposed settlements, as stated by Carte, whom we cannot afford to follow, appear strictly according to the equitable claims of the parties. Old possessions not determined by lawful forfeiture for rebellion were confirmed, as also those grants which had been the recompence of service—some too of forfeitures which were relinquished; and from some provision was made for innocent Papists; while several classes of persons implicated in rebellions specifically described by date, were excluded. It may be needless to say that suspicion and discontent soon appeared to be the more prominent effects of the proposed settlement. An Irish parliament was called, in 1661, to give it the sanction of law, and a commission was appointed for its execution. In this, all the difficulties, which must be conjectured by any one who may have followed the preceding outline, ensued. Though the rights of many were established or secured, many just claims were doomed to defeat, by intrigue and by stretches of power, and also by entanglements arising out of previous settlement; as also, further, by the entire deficiency of lands to meet many claims,—thus leaving a wide scope for litigation and complaint to go into the sum of indigenous disorder and sectarian animosity.

Of these the rough and troubled succession presents little variety, and still less of necessary connection with the succession of historical events. The most noticeable character of the opening of James's ac-

cession, is the repeal and resumption of whatever was done by his predecessor to correct or amend former abuses, or to reconcile old enmities. Feebleness and tyranny were unhappily united in the temper of the last of the Stuart kings. His accession was greeted by the triumphant exultation of the popish faction in both kingdoms. The wavering policy of Charles long continued to keep up an intense excitement in the Romish party in Ireland, who (not quite erroneously), considered him as favourable to their church, and looked to the prospect of a future intervention in their favour. The open adhesion of his brother seemed to confirm their hopes, and gave fuel to the fire of insurrection. James had for many years wholly devoted himself to the Romish faith, and with his brother, Charles, secretly cherished the design for its re-establishment in Ireland. This design was now openly avowed. Many of the best-known pages of English history tell of his conduct to advance this scheme, and of the results, fatal to his reign and to his race.

His accession was the signal for exultation among his popish subjects in Ireland, and for a considerable exchange of the feelings of either faction. The subdued and broken spirit of repressed disaffection caught once more a gleam of rabble patriotism, and prepared to seize the homes and altars of their Norman lords: these, on their part, shrunk from outrage and prepared for defence.

CHAPTER III.

James II.—Derry—William III.—Battle of the Boyne—Sieges of Athlone—Aughrim—Limerick—Final Siege and Capitulation.

The accession of James II. was the consistent winding up of the general policy of the Stuart line. Despotism, maintained on the fallacious maxim of the "divine right" of kings, falsely interpreted, was eventually to lead on the true and final establishment of British freedom on its constitutional basis. With the civil wars, suppressed by the iron hand and genius of Cromwell, were swept away the formal and legal pretexts of arbitrary power: but they were still in a manner invested with the sanctions of custom, and rendered venerable by tradition. The Restoration insensibly revived many an old prejudice, which there was little in the comparatively lax tyranny of the royal voluptuary to render hateful. Charles was too sagacious, and too regardless of all that did not interfere with his private pleasure, to risk any decisive course which was likely to give public offence. Unlike his brother, he was not likely to be betrayed into peril by the errors of superstition. In common with James, he had long secretly given his allegiance to the Roman See; and they had concerted the means to steal in the authority and profession of the Popish church into Ireland, where it seemed least likely to meet effectual opposition.

The accession of James gave a strong impulse to his popish subjects,

to whom it seemed to carry the assurance of triumph to their church, and a full restoration to their claims.

The first steps of the new government promised to fulfil these expectations. Ormonde was removed from the lieutenancy, and substituted by two Lords Justices, who, though still Protestant, were regarded as popish in their leanings. James was aware of the expediency of avoiding the excitement of the Protestant party, by any harsh or summary display of his intended policy. To these a temporary advantage was thus secured, at the cost nearly of a popish insurrection; but James, profiting by favourable appearances, soon gave way to the impulses of his arbitrary nature and superstitious creed. He openly declared and acted upon his scheme to employ popish officers in England; and still more decidedly in Ireland. On the pretext of Monmouth's rebellion, he called in the arms of the militia. The general terror thus produced, with the earnest and undisguised exultation of the Papists, may be regarded as the inauguration of the great events which followed. We cannot afford to follow, in its details, the course of those measures and their immediate consequences, of which the main result to Ireland was the war which followed, and decided the main issue. For a time the disarming of the militia called out a swarm of bandits from their dens. Informers filled the ear of authority with whispers of Protestant conspiracy or private treason. The Earl of Tyrconnel was sent over from the king with specious instructions, which seemed to imply equal respect to both parties, but with a contrary understanding, fully confirmed by the king's policy at the same time pursued in England. Tyrconnel ordered that none but Roman Catholics should be allowed in the army. It was openly declared among them, that in a few months not one Protestant should remain in the army, and that the ancient proprietors would thus be enabled to recover their lands. Tyrconnel was vainly opposed by the Earl of Clarendon, who saw the consequence of this and other extravagant proceedings. Clarendon, who would not be a party to a policy both dangerous and dishonest, was soon dismissed. Sunderland was appointed in his room, and was bribed by a pension from Tyrconnel, whom he had appointed as Lord Deputy.

Tyrconnel was in one respect honest; he was a sincere fanatic in his political creed. He had an escape from the carnage of Drogheda, and carried his resentment against Cromwell so far as to propose to be his assassin; and when that heroic offer was not accepted, it was succeeded by a like threat against the Duke of Ormonde. He was noted for his utter disregard of every principle—a liar and a tyrant, a slanderer, and politically a swindler—committing public and private wrong on any false pretence. We should apologize for this summary judgment;—it could be more smoothly conveyed in the usual course of historic narrative, and by reference to the usual authentic writers. But it is necessary to pass on to consequences which leave no doubt of their antecedents.

The Irish army was soon a fit organization for the designs of the royal bigot, and for the ends of the popish party. The Protestants, deprived of their arms, were driven into the service of the Prince of Orange. The corporation of Dublin was, with the same design, advised, with threats, to resign its charter. ▲ deputation to the king was contumeliously rejected: a *quo warranto* issued, and, by perversion of

law, decided against this and other corporations. Popish corporations were established in their room, fitly accommodated to the Royal ends.

A like attempt was made on the University, with the addition of a robbery of their plate, too lawless to be quite successful in the end; but enough to leave its brand on the intention.

And now the elements of the hurricane, which was destined to sweep away these infamies from the land, were fully aroused, and in energetic activity;—administrative robbery, military victims, judicial favour, crime unrestrained, murder at will, trade at an end, and the power and patronage of the Crown wholly devoted to the dissolution of every law of civil right or social order.

In course of no long time, by the proceedings thus briefly summed, the Protestants were so completely divested of all civil rights and legal authority, that the adverse party were at liberty to exercise their factious and aggressive tendencies, in mutual contention. While this state of things was in its natural progress from deep to deeper disorder, a strong reaction was fast proceeding in England.

It is needless to trace what has been rendered so popularly familiar as James' precipitate career in the design to effect by his own authority in England, the same course of perversion which he had more successfully inaugurated in Ireland by his servants. He was interrupted in this rash and blind course by intelligence from Tyrconnel, received from Amsterdam, respecting William's design. The rumour spread rapidly in Ireland, and awakened on either side a general excitement of hope and terror; and the hasty arming of both parties. The English party proposed to seize the castle of Dublin; and on the other side a rabble started up, calling themselves the king's soldiers, and were maintained by indiscriminate plunder. They were stoutly resisted, and the country was soon filled with the noise of party strife.

Under such auspices, the Protestant party were soon exposed to plunder, both by stretch of legal wrong, and illegal violence; by informers and robbers of every rank and order. The act of settlement was repealed by a Bill in the Irish Parliament. An act of attainder was also passed, by which many Protestants who had retired either to England or to take service abroad, were condemned to the penalties of death and forfeiture, unless upon surrender within a limited time. Those who were included in this act amount to 2,461 persons of every rank and profession. To give the greater effect to this atrocious act, it was concealed until the limit of the time assigned for indulgence was expired. It was discovered by an accident, and the cowardly tyrant owned his shame by reproaching his Attorney General for an encroachment on the royal prerogative, by a clause which excluded the power of pardon after the 1st November 1689.

In the meantime, many lesser administrative acts, some to appease the fears and suspicions of his English subjects, some to raise money by arbitrary stretches of prerogative in Ireland, in which latter offence against people, parliament, and even his own advisers, he went to the most extreme and arbitrary lengths. We cannot venture to state in detail his swindling device to raise money by the adulteration of the current coin, or the cruel and base refinement upon fraud, by which (through the army) he contrived to turn the impoverishing consequence

against Protestant traders, or the climax of dishonesty by which he bought the commodities of his people with base coin and turned trader himself on the goods obtained by these infamous devices.

To heighten the confusion and distress thus spread by these stretches of tyranny and exaction, the report of a massacre, in which the English were to be exterminated without distinction of age or sex, was suddenly spread in every direction, by anonymous letters directed to several gentlemen. Soon the panic became general; the memory of 1641 was but too easily recalled, and lived sensibly in too many homes. Many families took refuge in England; numbers in fortified towns. In Ulster, where the loyal spirit was strong, and the Protestants were more numerous and united, the appeal to arms was soon proposed; arms were collected, and courses of a defensive nature discussed.

In the midst of this confusion, while much wrong was in course of perpetration by authority, by arbitrary license, by lawless violence; and much preparation for sanguinary strife, shortly to break forth, was on foot; the report of William's landing at Torbay gave a new impulse to every party. It spread consternation among the Irish party, but more especially, it paralyzed the official plunderers, who, under Tyrconnel's protection, robbed all parties for their private use, or for the royal coffer.

To that great man, the cry of Protestant England was now directed. There, too, the country was the prey of two great factions, though happily the public mind was united in a just and constitutional sense of the national interest, and of the dangers to freedom and religion from the abuse of prerogative. Among the upper ranks of the aristocracy, the spirit of faction began and ended; the ordinary contention of party, never wanting to political action, then, in that age of low political morality, turned almost exclusively on the motives of personal ambition. The perilous intrigues which were soon to harass and obstruct the reforming and saving efforts of the common deliverer were, for the moment, arrested by the extremity of a great constitutional danger, and the appeal to William animated every voice that carried authority.

William, earnestly intent upon the urgent necessities of a great contest which may be said to have virtually combined the interests of Europe: and besides, beset by the difficulties of his domestic administration; where he had, with insufficient authority, to constrain the factious temper of a frugal people to the support of a great war and to move and combine his wavering allies in the Protestant cause, against the "most Catholic king:" William naturally felt the difficulty of decision between many present exigencies and the serious obstacles presented by the position of affairs in England. At the same time, he could not fail to discern the prospective advantages to the main policy of his life, to be derived by a leader of European war, from having the power to wield the influence and authority of England.

As we are not engaged in writing the history of England, we may briefly say, that these doubts were soon decided. William was persuaded to visit England, with a view to interfere and mediate between his father-in-law and his oppressed people; and after the necessary preparation he landed in Torbay, on the coast of Devon, in 1688. The particulars of his reception will be found in any history of England.

We have only here to mention, that after a short indecision, in which fear and the consciousness of wrong predominated, James took flight into France. Having for some previous time been in receipt of repeated letters of remonstrance from both William and Mary, he was in full possession of their sense of his conduct, and of their wholly opposite principles. He also had a lively conception of the popular enthusiasm for them, and scorn against himself; the combination was too much for his timid spirit.

In Ireland the fears and expectations of parties changed sides, while their mutual animosity continued steady. Each party had its own objects; some to retain plunder, some to obtain redress. Patriotism, the standard pretext of Irish sedition in more civilized times, had little to say in that confusion of more personal and meaner motives. Men of more lofty nature, known for ruling wisdom and virtue, had been carefully put aside by a ruler whose most fortunate qualifications were the folly which disarmed his despotic temper, and the cowardice which removed him from the scene.

William, to whom all eyes were turned, was yet hampered by the numerous and perplexing concerns of his English affairs. The same bigotry and tyrannic aims which had confused and aggravated the already disordered state of Ireland, had left England without a government, in the crisis of a great political revolution. Exposed to the opposite influences of two great and powerful parties, each desirous to assert its own views of policy, the new king lay under disadvantages which the utmost strength of his sagacious character was not more than equal to resist. His ignorance of the language, his inexperience in the courses of internal administration, of the popular temper, and more than all, of the public men through whom he was at present to act, all laid him open to the bolder pressure of opposite counsels. There was some misarrangement in every branch of administration; every public interest was more or less to be rectified, every concern of foreign policy to be guarded and provided for;—the reader will call to mind that William was then the great arbitrator of the freedom of Europe, no less than of English and Irish liberties. Months were at least necessary to clear him from the embarrassment of these exigencies, and of the endeavours of party to hamper his powers of action. But the calculations of his ambitious or party counsellors were defeated. In the cold silent bearing, and undemonstrative aspect and manner of William, there was concealed a keen, lofty, and far-seeing intellect, and a judgment guided unerringly by right principle and the love of truth. His knowledge of men had been acquired beyond the narrow arena of parliaments and privy councils—his constitutional experience in the concerns of Europe, where he was recognised as the protector and the great leader in the cause of freedom. In England, he was revered both for the near alliance, by his marriage, with the presumptive heiress to the throne, and by the high authority of his character, which caused him to be regarded by the oppressed subjects of his tyrannical and bigoted father-in-law, as the centre of appeal, and the refuge from iniquitous oppression and capricious tampering with the law and the liberties of the people.

James, as the reader is aware, had taken flight at the approach of the

Prince of Orange, and appeared as a suppliant at the footstool of Louis, the implacable enemy of William, and found in him a ready friend. From him he obtained some present aid in money, men, and ships, with promise of more, which doubtless, would have followed any material prospect of success.

The ardour of the confederates could not await the tardy movements of their foreign reinforcements; nor were the English authorities and officers of William's party quite remiss. There yet existed on the British side no regular civil or military organization, and though the preparation of war was on every side in active motion, there was no army in the field, no certain measure of attack or defence. There was, as often of old, the momentary pause of terror or distrust, which precedes civil war. There were the yet vivid recollections of 41; there was the more recent experience of William's heroic achievements in the vindication of European freedom, against the greatest military power of the age. On either side, the formidable powers stood yet apart, like Milton's thunder-clouds, prepared

"To join their dark encounter in mid air."

This preliminary suspense was interrupted by the zeal of the restless confederate parties. Collecting their scattered bands, they saw the advantage, without fully measuring the possibility, of seizing by surprise upon the imperfectly garrisoned towns. In the meantime, Tyrconnel despatched a messenger to France to encourage and hasten the proceedings of James. But willing to deceive and to secure his own retreat by a double manœuvre, he treacherously sent a contrary message by Lord Mountjoy, a peer in the English interest, to assure the fugitive king that there was no remaining hope for him; and advising that he should think no more of recovering his kingdom. By the other, James was privately urged to hasten his preparations and his journey, and to secure Mountjoy. This nobleman was instantly seized and shut up in the Bastille.

On the 1st of February James left St. Germain's on his way to Brest, where he arrived on the 5th. Louis presented him with his own cuirass, and bade him farewell, saying, "The best wish I can offer is, that I may see you no more," a wish not destined to be fulfilled. Louis supplied 2,500 soldiers, with a fleet of 15 sail, manned with his best sailors, and commanded by trusty officers. After some days' delay by stress of weather, this armament reached Kinsale on the 12th of March, and after passing through Cork, James made his way to Dublin.

Arrived in Dublin, he found few who were not of his own zealous party, the priests, and those who looked to him for acquisition of lands, and ascendancy of religion. He was met on his approach by a procession of ecclesiastics bearing the emblems and objects of the Romish worship. He convened a council composed of a few of the Jacobite peers who still adhered to his cause, with some Roman Catholic bishops, and French officers.

From this, he published such declarations as he supposed might for the moment operate to conciliate his opponents by political equivocation. He was waited upon by the Protestant bishop and clergy of Meath, to

offer their complaints; they were assured of his general protection for the rights of all, in their religion and property. Having called a parliament, to which he announced his regard to the rights of conscience, he consented to the repeal of the act of settlement, thus depriving the Scottish and English Protestants of the security for their lands. In virtue of this repeal, immediate measures of spoliation were at once commenced, and armed squadrons were detached to effect the forcible ejection of Protestant proprietors; and, so far as this power of robbery extended, there was a universal course of seizure and forcible possession pursued, irrespectively of all consideration but force.

The Protestant churches were in like manner seized, and transferred to the Romish priests; and, to illustrate more fully the tyrant's professed respect for the rights of conscience, Protestants were forbidden to assemble for worship or for any purpose, on penalty of death. James was soon called away by the pressure of less encouraging circumstances, to the north where the Protestants still retained a front of resistance.

It was the obvious interest of the Jacobites to secure possession of the forts and garrison towns. In December 1688 a strong regiment, purely Irish, had been sent by Tyrconnel to occupy Londonderry. It so happened, that when this force had reached a neighbouring village, a Mr. Philips having observed its character, and apprehending its destination, sent off immediate notice to the magistrates. The regiment of Tyrconnel had just come in sight, and the dismay of the citizens was not yet allayed, when a party of thirteen youths, "prentice boys of Derry," acting at the instigation of a gentleman of the neighbourhood, rushed to the Ferry gates, to which the enemy were approaching. Having seized upon the keys, they raised and secured the drawbridge, and locked the gate. This act, with the spirited appeal of David Cairns, the gentleman referred to, and some officers who joined in rallying the people, awakened the resolution of the citizens to exclude the regiment. After an arrangement had been come to by which a force was admitted there of a more Protestant character, a feeble garrison yet remained under the command of Colonel Lundy, who, though nominally commanding for King William, had secretly resolved to betray the city to James. As the magistrates and civic authorities, in their first alarm, hesitated as to the safe course, and in their perplexity were confused and inactive, Lundy seized the occasion to throw a damp on their resolution by insidious representations of the inutility and danger of resistance. Happily his drift was shrewdly conjectured; he was understood; and as a reaction was soon excited by the loyal remonstrances of more determined spirits, he was expelled from the town.

James presently appeared with his army before the walls, confident that his summons, with the formidable appearance of his forces, would awe the garrison to a surrender. He was fired upon from the walls, and after eleven days, retired, leaving the conduct of the siege to De Rosen, the commander of the French troops. Then followed a siege memorable for the extreme and prolonged sufferings of the citizens, and for the patient fortitude with which they were endured. Of the many recorded instances of the like extremities, none have been known to exceed those of Londonderry. Some of the details we shall meet in

the history of Walker, who commanded. These sufferings were aggravated by the gloomy addition of hope deferred; the fleet, with stores and reinforcements for their relief, was unable to approach, having failed to force the boom which the besiegers had fastened across the narrow part of Lough Foyle. After hovering for a few days in sight of the famishing multitudes, this fleet disappeared, leaving them for a few more terrible days to famine and despair. It would be difficult for the invention of romance to add a horror to this half-told tale of human endurance; yet such, in cruel reality, there was added; the population of the surrounding country were swept together from their homes and crowded within the lines of the besieging host, under the city walls, to entreat for shelter and food from their friends and neighbours within, adding thus their cries and sufferings to the disease and famine of those who felt the wretchedness they could not relieve.

Happily, at length, this interval of horror was broken by one more glimpse of the fleet sailing up the Lough. The hope thus awakened was no longer vain. The boom gave way before the foremost prow, and the long-desired fleet sailed in, to cheer the despairing crowd, and carry discouragement and irresolution to the besieging force. Within the walls no less than eight thousand had died within the four months, during which these heroic men had endured and braved all the fierce extremities of privation and danger, with a constancy never excelled.

It was now, on the last mentioned event, felt by De Rosen, the French commander, that any further prosecution of the siege was but a hopeless waste of time. He broke up his encampment in great mortification; baffled and defeated in all his efforts by a feeble and undisciplined garrison, rather citizens than soldiers, and deficient in the munitions of war, commanded by a few presbyterian clergy, under the guidance of Rev. George Walker, the rector of the neighbouring parish of Donaghmore.

On the same day, the Protestants of Enniskillen, who had still kept their town against many attempts at surprise, sallied out in force, and marched against a strong party of the Irish, commanded by Macarthy. They came up with them at Newtown Butler, and, after a fierce encounter, routed them with a slaughter of 2,000 men.

On the 12th August 1689, Schomberg entered Carrickfergus Bay with 90 vessels and 10,000 men. His troops were badly appointed. The expedition was hurried, and it is likely that reliance on the weakness of a barbarous enemy, somewhat appeared to render haste more important than force; devastation and pillage were, it was thought, the main danger to be arrested. In this, it soon appeared there was some mistake. Having landed, Schomberg laid siege to the town of Carrickfergus, into which Macarthy had thrown himself with the remnant of his army, amounting to 2,500 men. The siege lasted four days, after which the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms, to the great indignation of the soldiery, who were hardly restrained from attacking, but could not be prevented from disarming them.

From this town the general marched towards the neighbourhood of Carlingford and Dundalk. He encamped in an unwholesome situation, among fens and morasses, where his army was exposed to considerable privations, and soon began to show the effects of the damp and pestilen-

tial air. The army of James soon appeared in sight. Schomberg's soldiers were in no condition to fight; worn by fatigue, sickness, privation, and reduced in number, it was seen that they could not fail to be surrounded by the enemy's vastly superior numbers. On the other side, James' general, De Rosen, who, fortunately for the English, was not aware of their helpless condition, awaited their attack, and from its delay, only inferred that Schomberg "wanted something." His judicious respect for an English army convinced him that nothing could be gained by the attack which was urged by the inconsiderate James, and he drew off his troops to Dundalk, while Schomberg fortified his camp on the grounds.

He was in no condition for effective action, and, of necessity, was constrained to await a reinforcement, which he expected with his artillery and cavalry, in order to proceed in pursuit of James.

In the meantime the English parliament loudly expressed its dissatisfaction at the conduct of this war, and King William, harassed by complaints which were in a great measure factious, announced his resolution to take the command in person.

William landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th June 1690, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and many of the English nobility, and after half an hour proceeded in Schomberg's carriage to Belfast. While this event had been anxiously expected by his friends in Ireland, Schomberg's army had regained its spirits and been reinforced from England, and also joined by the heroic Enniskilleners. These gallant men had, to the number of 1,400, encountered the Duke of Berwick at Cavan with 4,000 Irish, whom they put to flight at the first charge. Seven thousand Danes, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, had landed in Belfast to join the English army, and, on both sides, the arrangements for a more regular and extensive scale of proceeding were in course of active preparation. Schomberg was supplying his garrisons; and James had received 5,000 French soldiers under Count Lauzun. Of this reinforcement, it has been ascertained, and should be remembered, that it was commissioned with the insidious design to secure Ireland for the French king. James had soon reason to be tired of the alliance, as he was treated with insolent superiority by Lauzun, and utter disregard by his troops.

The arrival of King William spread universal rejoicing among the English, and in the army. From Belfast he advanced to Lisburn. His first act was to order an annual charge of £1,200 on the customs of Belfast, in favour of the northern dissenting ministers, who had acted and suffered in the cause of religion and order. He gave directions for immediate action; and when his military adviser suggested more deliberate proceedings, he answered, "I came not to Ireland to let the grass grow under my feet." The army was much inspirited by his energy, and the earnest activity with which he rode through their ranks inspecting everything for himself. He lodged in his camp, and spent his day in looking to the comforts of his men. He had been six days thus engaged, while James was still consoling himself with the delusion that he was yet only striving with an English faction. He was undeceived at last, by the alarming intelligence that William was on his march to meet him. He arranged his affairs in Dublin, and marched out with

6,000 French to join his Irish force, encamped on the banks of the Boyne, and amounting to 33,000 men.

He was now grown weary of suspense, and fully determined to try the hazard of a battle. His more considerate officers, who could more coolly weigh the chances on either side, strongly urged a contrary advice; they represented that a large reinforcement was to be soon expected from France, and only then awaited the departure of the English fleet from the coast; that the disorders in England must immediately require the presence of William; and a very short delay would be of advantage, for the better discipline of their army. James, governed by the wilfulness of his temper, obstinately rejected all such counsels, and declared his resolution to "strike one stroke for his crown." He had not long to wait for the desired occasion.

The decision was no less a matter of earnest anxiety to William, whose mind was bent on more important interests elsewhere. He directed his march to the same scene of action, and on the last day of June, 1690, moved his army towards the river Boyne. He led his advanced guard to a hill two miles west of Drogheda, to reconnoitre his enemy. From this height he saw the town occupied strongly with an Irish force. Eastward, on the farther banks of the river, lay the hostile encampment, flanked on the left by a morass; in their front the fords of the Boyne, defended by breastworks.

Anxious to gain a nearer view, he approached a rising ground opposite to Oldbridge, where he sat down with his officers to rest, and was engaged in consultation upon the method of crossing the ford, and the position for his battery. On the opposite bank, James' officers, Berwick, Sarsfield, and Tyrconnel, with other officers, appeared riding, and by their movements showed their discovery of the king's party. Presently a small cavalry detachment made its appearance opposite the king's position, and immediately retired, after having first deposited two field pieces of artillery under cover of a hedge. William divined the purpose of this manœuvre, and mounted his horse: there succeeded an immediate discharge of one gun from the hedge. It killed a man nearly on a line with the king, and two horses. Another shot followed, struck the ground, rose and grazed the king's shoulder, slightly wounding him. As some confusion in his suite became thus visible, a loud shout of triumph rose from the other side, and before the impression could be counteracted, the report of his being slain was carried to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the news was received with triumph, and celebrated by a discharge of cannon. William rode through his army to dispel the alarm.

Late at night he summoned his officers, and announced his design to pass the fords opposite, in front of the enemy. Schomberg strongly remonstrated, but he adhered to his plan of attack, which was to cross the Boyne early, in three places. Having settled the details of the attack, he rode with torches through the camp, visiting all the posts.

Early next morning he sent his right wing, led by Count Schomberg and General Douglas, forward to secure the bridge of Slane, where some fords had been ascertained. Duke Schomberg was directed to lead the centre in front, and William was to lead the left over a ford near the town.

Count Schomberg* crossed without opposition, except from a regiment of dragoons, which, after severe loss, gave way. The Count advanced on the enemy, who were before him in two lines, over a field heavily obstructed by deep ditches in front, with a morass beyond, such as to wholly interrupt the advance of the cavalry. The foot soldiers, however, were ordered to advance, and went forward boldly through all these obstacles; while the dragoons found their way round on the right. The enemy looked on for a time in silent suspense and no little wonder, on a proceeding which gave clear proof of the firmness and formidable courage of the approaching enemy; and hardly awaiting their approach, turned, in panic flight, and were pursued with severe loss towards Duleek.

The centre, under Duke Schomberg, met with no resistance until they had reached the middle of the river, and were wading nearly breast high in the water, when a hot fire from the lines and the houses met their advance. They suffered small loss, and pressing rapidly on, gained the bank, and drove the enemy before them. Fresh battalions of Irish came up and were repulsed in five successive attacks.

There then occurred a turn in the fight. A charge led by General Hamilton was repulsed by the Dutch, who, while yet in some disarray, were attacked with fury by a strong party of Irish cavalry, and compelled to give way in disorder. It was but for a moment, but it spread confusion among the Dutch ranks. The French Huguenots in William's centre, were cut up severely by the Irish, and Caillemote, their gallant leader, was slain. Duke Schomberg, witnessing the confusion, rushed into the stream and rallied the French line. He pointed to their countrymen in the enemy's ranks, and exclaimed, "Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors." He had hardly spoken when he was struck by a musket-ball and dropped dead. It is believed that the fatal shot was from his own lines; in the hot struggle that succeeded his charge, he had got entangled in the enemy's retreat, and was borne with them under the fire of his own soldiers. In the same furious *melee*, George Walker also met his end. A short pause now took place. In the foremost ranks of either party there was some disorder, in which the fierce confusion of the foremost combatants on either side had somewhat mixed their ranks.

William had put himself at the head of the left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. In crossing his charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. At this conjuncture he brought up with him the left wing. He was soon seen in front, sword in hand, and urging the attack. The sight gave renewed impulse to his men. The Irish ranks gave way, but rallied, and returning, charged so fiercely as to force the English to give ground. The king, with the coolness which never deserted him, rode up to the Enniskilleners and asked them "What they would do for him;" they came on with him, and received the enemy's fire. They were joined by a Dutch company, and both sides closed in a fierce hand to hand struggle. Here the king was to be seen in the hottest scenes of the encounter, and had many

* Son to the Duke.

escapes. The soldiers, thus led, were inflamed to double ardour, and could not be long withstood. The field was, for the moment, bravely contested, in spite of a desperate but disorderly charge, led on by General Hamilton; the Irish finally gave way, and Hamilton was made prisoner. He was asked by the king, would the Irish fight more? "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will, for they have a good body of horse." William calmly eyed the man who had betrayed him, in the communications with Tyrconnel, and contemptuously exclaimed, "Honour!—your honour!"

Had William been slain, or had this decisive struggle turned in favour of the Irish army, there seems no reason for the conjecture that Count Lauzun would have improved the advantages for his own master, any more than that he looked on James as a cypher in the account. He now advised his retreat. James sought refuge in Duleek, protected by Sarsfield's cavalry. William lost 500 men in this crowning fight. Of the Irish, 1,500 were slain. Lauzun kept his French troops whole for James' protection in the retreat, which from the first he anticipated.

James arrived in Dublin, in the shame and despair of a discomfiture which closed his prospects. There his party were confidently looking out for his triumph; and, in their disappointment, first thought of revenge on those who were yet in their power. Official authority yet lay in the hands of James' friends, and they were bent on vindictive proceedings of every kind. It is the mitigating allowance due to James' character that, fool and tyrant though he was, he strenuously deprecated all vengeful and vain steps. He advised submission, and represented William's humane and merciful character as the safest ground of reliance. He made, however, one excuse for his own disgrace, equally needless and false; his Irish subjects, he affirmed, had deserted him in the moment of trial, and turned their backs on an enemy they might have conquered. The false and ungrateful calumny drew upon him a retort, which has passed into history. "But change kings," said Sarsfield, sometime afterwards, "and we will fight the battle again."

As we desire to close in this chapter the succession of events which complete the history of this war, we will but slightly sum the immediate incidents which followed in Dublin. The Protestant party, oppressed and humiliated by the Irish, now felt it to be their turn, and were proceeding to a violent retaliation, when Fitzgerald took a timely alarm. A party of Irish, still believing in the success of James, and excited by the rumoured approach of a party of their associates, had set fire to the suburban houses. Fitzgerald caused the flames to be extinguished; he rushed among a rabble who were breaking into Sarsfield's house, and, by entreaty and threat, restrained their violence. He sent messengers to the king to ask for aid, and to hurry his presence. William, who was approaching slowly, sent forward some troops of horse, and presently encamped at Finglass.

From thence he visited the city, and returned thanks at Patrick's Cathedral. Returning to his camp, he received a deputation from the Protestant clergy, whom he assured of protection. He published at the same time a general amnesty for all people who should remain quietly at home and surrender their arms. The tenants of those proprietors who were not implicated in the Jacobite party, were ordered to

pay their rents to the landlord ; those, whose landlords had engaged in the rebellion, were directed to reserve the payment for further orders. Commissioners were appointed to seize the estates of those who continued in arms. Those gentlemen, after the custom of commissioners, executed their trust with little discrimination and less mercy, thus, in no small degree, contributing to keep the rebellion alive.

William, whose English and continental interests now called for his presence, became earnestly desirous to put an end to the war. His force was wasted, and his means reduced. He marched southward, and lay before Waterford, which at first refused to yield to his summons ; but after a few days' parley, yielded on favourable terms ; the garrison being allowed to march out unarmed. He proceeded to Duncannon fort. There a determined resistance had been planned ; but this design was abandoned on the appearance of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet in the Suir, on which the fort was surrendered. The appearance of a French fleet on the English coast, and the report of a battle lost by his allies, gave William some alarm, and for a moment determined him to leave for England. He was soon relieved, by hearing of the departure of the French, and by learning that the report of the battle was an exaggeration, and altered his plans.

He now learned that the town of Wexford had voluntarily declared for him. Limerick, a city of great strength, and containing the main force of the Jacobite party, still held out as the chief obstacle to a peace. Thither he now bent his course, much shortened in force and in the materials of war ; and, as he soon learned, in time. He encamped before the city, but was compelled to wait for his battering train, which was yet on its way from Dublin. But these circumstances being made known to Sarsfield by a deserter, he planned a night sortie to intercept the party. The surprise was successful ; the artillery was seized, the guns were filled with powder, their muzzles turned down into the earth, and a train laid by which they were blown up. The report, heard over the Province, sufficiently apprised William of his loss. He had with him but a few field-pieces, and was forced to submit to a further impatient delay. His next step was to send for some guns to Waterford. When they reached his camp he opened fire upon the city walls ; a breach was soon effected, and a party told off for the assault. These, in their first assault, drove the enemy before them ; the supporting party stopped, according to their orders, at the counterscarp, but the stormers pressed on. It had not been foreseen that the defenders would have so soon given way ; the stormers, thus isolated, received a deadly discharge from the city on every side, and the garrison, rallying in force, surrounded them ; the ground was soon heaped with dead, and the survivors were pressed on by soldiers and armed citizens, and even by the women, intoxicated with fury. For three hours, cannon, musketry, pike, and sword, did their work, till stone and street ran with blood, and the assailants had, between killed and wounded, lost a thousand men. William saw that it was necessary to put a stop to the slaughter, and ordered a retreat. The army called loudly to renew the assault, and the city might have been won at the cost of many hundred lives.

But the king's considerate mind was otherwise moved by several pressing considerations. His army was wasted by loss of men, by pri-

uations, and by disease, and the rainy season was impending. The roads would soon be deep and unfit for his heavy baggage and artillery. With these considerations his mind was strongly impressed with an increasing anxiety about his English affairs. He determined to raise the siege and commit to De Ginckle the task of ending the war. He led the army to Clonmel, and with Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, and others, he repaired to Waterford and embarked for England.

Cork and Kinsale were soon reduced by Marlborough, who volunteered his services on condition of receiving command of a small force, and was accepted by William. These exploits, conducted with the ability of this illustrious commander, demand no detail, as they were attended with no unusual result, and met no impediment sufficient to claim our space. The success of this enterprise enabled De Ginckle to take steps for retiring into winter quarters.

The Irish garrison in Limerick were much elated by their recent success, and began to form immense projects for an expedition to attack the Pale, and drive the English from the land. The French general in that city, disgusted with his allies, who repaid his contempt with suspicion and hate, now withdrew his force and joined other parties of his countrymen. The sole command of the Irish remained with the gallant Sarsfield.

During the winter season, though the fury of war slept, the condition of the country was not one of rest. The irregular Irish troops resolved themselves into plundering bands, and infested every corner. The original Celtic population, of which but a scanty remnant now exists in the south and west, was then still numerous, and unreclaimed from their primitive state. Among these there was no safety for the peaceful or the civilized. They were, like the Indian of the forest and the prairie, a fierce race, and are, like them, worn to a melancholy remnant. They have transmitted to the mixed race which has followed, some fiery virtues and some no less lively defects, doubtless a great improvement, though not without some primitive traces of the olden time. But we are digressing in our haste, and the subject is yet to recur.

The winter was disturbed by the plunders and the violences of both parties. The soldiers were ill-paid and mutinous. De Ginckle had a struggle to keep his army together. But as the season of distress advanced, he received succour and supplies. He saw reason to regret that he had not secured the passes of the Shannon, by which his army would have been comparatively protected from the depredation of roving beggars and wandering bandits, who watched their opportunity to cut off any unfortunate stragglers from the camp.

His campaign opened with an important success. The fort of Ballinore lay in a convenient position for whoever might possess it; it was strongly fortified by the enemy, and garrisoned with a thousand men. It was summoned, and refused to submit. But when the general sent a strong party with boats on the river to assail its more undefensible side, the governor submitted at discretion, and the garrison were made prisoners. The main present object of De Ginckle was the siege of Athlone; he thus secured a safe and convenient position of strength in its vicinity.

On the 18th of June, he reconnoitred the town from an eminence

within a few miles, and saw the position of the Irish army beyond, on a narrow elevation between two bogs. De Ginckle's army was next day moved forward, and the Irish, who lined the hedges, retiring before him, poured into the town. He presently opened his fire upon the walls, where the breach of last year's attack had been imperfectly repaired. A practicable breach was soon made, and the general directed an assault. The enemy retired before his stormers after a short struggle, and retired in panic and in such confusion, that many were precipitated into the river. The assailants, however, soon came to a stop. The bridge had been broken in the former siege, and was only passable by planks laid across the chasm upon the central arch. The ford was deep, and the English were forced to a stand-still under a heavy fire from the opposite side. De Ginckle contrived to have planks laid down over the broken arch, but before he could avail himself of this resource, it was frustrated by a daring feat. A party of the enemy rushed forward to cast down the planks from this broken arch; they were repulsed with slaughter by a hot fire from the besiegers, but were succeeded immediately by twelve men in armour, who, in the shower of bullets which rained from De Ginckle's ranks, cast down the planks; two only of the number retired. Once more, the general attempted to renew the same expedient more surely, by the construction of a covered gallery; this was not quite completed when it was set on fire by hand grenades from the enemy. The besieging party thus foiled in repeated attempts, were somewhat perplexed in the consideration of their next possible resource. The river was supposed to be too deep to be forded, and was not to be crossed by boat or pontoon in the face of the strong force on the further bank; and the fords at some distance were, on inquiry, found to be strongly guarded. It seemed a case of despair. Monsieur St. Ruth became so confident of safety, as to use expressions of triumph; and the English were taunted by the enemy for not having better earned the pay they had been seen to receive.

On a council held with his officers, De Ginckle resolved to face the danger and difficulty of attempting the river on the next morning. Two thousand men were appointed for the trial; the hour for relieving guard was fixed, that the noise and movement might less attract hostile attention. Morning came, and, on a concerted signal, the chosen ranks entered the river, headed by their commander General Mackay, and accompanied by most of the other officers of rank, French, Dutch, and English, in De Ginckle's army, as volunteers. They were soon immersed shoulder deep, and under a fierce fire from the bank, returned with equal fury from their own side. In the thunder of these discharges, the assailants forced their way and approached the hostile bank. The Irish, who had not regarded the feat as possible, were struck with panic, and fled in disorder as the besiegers gained the land. The English pursued, reached and mounted the nearest breaches. Meanwhile another party, now unopposed, laid down planks across the broken bridge, over which the main body marched in. It may be needless to say that a great slaughter of the flying Irish took place. St. Ruth, on first learning that they were crossing the river, refused to believe; he alleged the impracticability of the attempt, and the absurdity of the assumption that they would so far presume while his army lay so near.

Sarsfield coolly told him that he did "not know the English." The Frenchman, in great vexation, ordered that these "presumptuous intruders" should instantly be expelled; and some useless attacks followed. But they could not prevent the English from gaining the works opposite to his camp, on which the guns of the tower began to pour their contents.

Leland mentions a fact corroborated by several intimations. "St. Ruth had hitherto, it is said, flattered himself with the hope of reducing Ireland to the dominion of the French monarch. He solicited the Irish to swear allegiance to his master. All orders were issued in the name, not of James, but of Louis. Such, at least, was the intelligence given by deserters; and to confirm it, the English saw, with surprise, the standards of France waving over the town of Athlone."*

In fine, the castle and town fell to the besiegers, with the governor and five hundred prisoners; about 1,200 men were slain. St. Ruth drew off his troops, execrating and execrated by the Irish. He now collected his detachments from their different quarters, and prepared for a decisive conflict with the English, who, he justly felt assured, would seek him. De Ginckle repaired the fortifications of Athlone, and, with the same intention, prepared to follow. He published a proclamation offering conditions of amnesty to the Irish, by the order, rather unwillingly given, of the Lords Justices. On the 10th of June, De Ginckle left Athlone, and directed his march into the county of Roscommon, where he encamped along the river Suck. He soon ascertained that St. Ruth lay three miles away, near the hills of Kilcomedon. His army was skilfully posted, with bogs and morasses covering their left, near the village of Aughrim. A large bog, about a mile in breadth, extended along his front toward the right, with a ruinous tower, occupied by infantry and entrenched, which guarded the only pass on the right. The slopes of the hill were intersected by hedges, which were lined with musketry. The number of St. Ruth's force was 25,000; of De Ginckle's 10,000. Among the Irish, their priests were busy in exciting their courage by exhortation and the rites of their religion.

At noon, on the 12th July, the attack was begun by moving forward a party of Danes to gain the pass on the enemy's right; these, however, gave way before a party of Irish. Some English cavalry followed, they were strongly resisted; but were sustained by a fresh party. Fresh reinforcements thus brought up on either side contested the pass for an hour, when at last, the English forced their way within the bog. The advantage was, however, doubtful; De Ginckle's left wing was thus in a measure isolated from his whole front, which was still intercepted by the bog. The general hesitated, and would have deferred his attack till next morning. Mackay's urgency prevailed for an immediate attack upon the Irish right, as St. Ruth would thus be forced to weaken his left, and leave the Aughrim pass more easy to force. The attack was accordingly made at five in the evening by the English left, and boldly resisted on the other side. After a fierce conflict, for nearly two hours, Mackay's opinion was confirmed. St. Ruth found it necessary to support his right wing by a considerable body from his left. Mackay was

* Leland, vol. iii., p. 599.

prepared, and instantly detached a strong force of cavalry to attack the pass by Aughrim Castle: at the same time several foot regiments were ordered to cross the bog in their front, and take post among the lower ditches, till the horse should force the pass and wheel round to join their attack.

The infantry were soon up to the middle in the deep morass, with difficulty making way to the opposite side. As they came near, a furious discharge of musketry opened on them from hedge and ditch. Their progress was unstayed; the enemy retired before them to lead them on unawares towards their main line. The ruse succeeded. They presently found themselves tired, few, and disordered, in presence of St. Ruth's whole force. Nearly surrounded by an overwhelming mass, they attempted retreat, and were driven back with loss of men and officers into the bog.

St. Ruth exulted. "Now," he cried, "will I drive these English to the very walls of Dublin." In the midst of his triumph, he saw with astonishment the movement of the enemy's horse, which had been sent round by the castle. They were pressing forward at their utmost speed, under a heavy fire. In his amazement, he asked what the English could mean? He was answered, "to force their way to our left." "They are brave fellows, 'tis a pity they should be so exposed," was the brave Frenchman's comment. The English forced their way toward his left, and were joined by the infantry, who rallied and regained the ground from which they had been repulsed.

The English pressed on, and were bravely met. St. Ruth came down from his post on Kilcomedon, and directed the fire of a battery on the advancing line, and then charged at the head of his cavalry. At this moment he was struck dead by a cannon ball. His cavalry, thus deprived of their leader, came to a stand, and then turned back; at the same time the Irish foot were giving way. The charge of a body of Danish horse on the extreme left, put to flight the bodies opposite to their station in great confusion. This incident completed the disorder along the whole line, and it became a rout. The infantry took refuge in the morass, the cavalry escaped to Loughrea, and seven thousand Irish were slain in the pursuit; De Ginckle lost seven hundred men. The whole baggage, artillery and ammunition, with the camp of the enemy, fell to the conquerors.

After a few days given to rest, De Ginckle moved his force to Galway. His object was to lay siege to Limerick, which he regarded as the final issue of the war; but the reduction of Galway he viewed as a first essential step. We shall not need to enter on the detail of a siege which cost no struggle. The first impulse of the governor of Galway was resistance; but after a few days' holding out, when they were disappointed in the promised aid, they compared their field force of seven weak regiments with the army of De Ginckle, crowned with the formidable renown of Athlone and Aughrim, and wisely consented to a capitulation, thus leaving the English army free to seek a more equal foe.

This last mentioned event was at first assumed in England to be the end of the war; and was near leading to a premature withdrawal of the army. William was at the time engaged in his campaign against the

French in Flanders; and Queen Mary, assured that there was no further post of strength likely to hold out in Ireland, ordered transports to convey ten thousand foot and six hundred cavalry to his assistance from the Irish army. Fortunately for Ireland, this operation required many delays; and it was resolved, meanwhile, to effect the reduction of Limerick. Notwithstanding the fortune of the first unprosperous attempt, the enterprise was considered to involve no difficulty. De Ginckle seems to have estimated it more truly. He renewed the proclamation of pardon to all who should make timely submission. His approach was favoured by the state of the town and garrison.

The citizens and the army were variously divided. The French treated the Irish with scornful insolence, who repaid them with bitter hate; their objects too were wholly different. The more timid of the citizens feared the result of a siege, the wiser saw the vanity of resistance. Among the Jacobite chiefs similar divisions existed; but for the most part they leaned to compromise and submission. In this state of discouragement, the French, and the party which, with them, favoured the designs of Louis, were encouraged by the report of a reinforcement on its way, in 20 ships of the line, under M. Chateaurenault.

In the meantime Sarsfield, at the head of 7,000 men, crossed the Shannon and threw himself into the city. De Ginckle called in his garrisons, secured the passes of the Shannon, reduced some Irish garrisons which might cramp his communications, and advanced with caution towards Limerick, which he reached on the 25th of August, 1691. A fierce fire was soon opened and kept up for some days, the houses were presently burning on the besieger's side of the river. After a continued cannonade, ample breaches were soon made. But De Ginckle, recollecting the incidents of the former siege, and being aware that the besieged force, French and Irish, was fully equal, if not superior, to his own, came to the conviction that his surest course was to convert the siege into a blockade. For this it was necessary to cross the Shannon, in order to invest the opposite quarter of the town, in which the citizens were still sheltered from his fire. The army was meanwhile impatient for the assault; the Lords Justices dissatisfied at the delay; and there was a report of the approach of a French fleet, to relieve their beleaguered countrymen. It may be added that the still more formidable approach of winter was felt to render the position of the British force alarming.

To cross the Shannon to the Clare side was itself no less arduous than the storming. It was to be effected by boats and rafts, and was likely to be resisted successfully by the strong force sure to be encountered on the opposite bank. While the boats were in preparation, a report was spread that the siege was about to be raised, which seemed confirmed by the general disarray and motion apparent in the English camp. As night concealed their movements, 400 grenadiers, followed by a body of workmen, and supported by a strong force with a train of artillery, marched two miles north on the river, and there securely laid their bridge of boats; while the grenadiers were conveyed in boats to an island, from the other side of which the river was fordable. All this was effected without alarming the city. A faint resistance was

met on the other bank from four regiments of dismounted dragoons, who were driven back from their position.

The enemy was taken by surprise; the sound of conflict came from far, and conveyed no suspicion to the few who were awake to hear it. The approach of the English aroused the Irish camp, and created panic and wild disorder, in which, had not De Ginckle restrained the pursuit, a great slaughter must have followed. We cannot afford to detail the incidents of the next eight days, during which several manœuvres were executed by either side, and fresh dispositions made by De Ginckle for the assault of the works by which the Thomond gate was protected. The attack was at last made; it was considered so hazardous by the general, that he ordered his grenadiers not to venture too far, an order which, in the heat of conflict, they little heeded. A desperate and bloody struggle ensued, in which the Irish were driven back, were reinforced from within and rallied, but at last compelled to give way. They were arrested in their flight. A French officer who commanded the gate, seeing the imminent danger, ordered the drawbridge to be raised. It was a death warrant to the fugitive crowd. Suddenly checked, they stood on their defence, and a hideous carnage followed. There were slain on the spot 750 Irish; several prisoners were taken. Of the English, 20 privates were killed, and 60 wounded. The result was that the garrison, cut off from the country and from its horse, began to think seriously of capitulation, and next day they beat a parley on both sides of the town.

We pass the lesser details of the negotiation. Some very serious differences protracted the discussion. Terms were proposed by Sarsfield which were wholly inadmissible, and which, if granted, must have renewed the ancient disorder, and restored a state inconsistent with any constitutional government. De Ginckle's answer was the re-erection of his battery, on which it was requested that he would propose his own terms. In answer he sent twelve articles which formed the basis of capitulation.

The historical interest attached to the civil portion of these articles, induces us to incorporate them with this chapter to some extent, according to their more or less permanence of interest, or the further questions they may have led to.

The lords-justices arrived on the 1st October, and on the 3d, the articles were signed in two parts. One, relative to the surrender of the town, and signed by the military commanders on either side: the other relative to the privileges and concessions to the Irish, signed by the civil authorities, and several of the Irish nobility and gentry. The event occurred most providentially but a day or two before the arrival of a fleet in Dingle bay, sent by the king of France to relieve the city. It amounted to eighteen ships of the line, or frigates, six fire-ships, and twenty large transports, with ten thousand stand of arms, two hundred officers, and three thousand soldiers. The result would have had for its least consequences another campaign, with a winter of extreme distress to both parties, and a vast amount of added loss, slaughter, and suffering, through the entire country. The result, indeed, can hardly be pronounced with certainty. The historical interest, attached to the civil portion of these articles, leads us to insert them here with-

out any mutilation: the military articles, to the number of twenty-nine, may be seen in Harris's appendix,* as well as in many other works of extensive compilation.

"In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army, it is agreed, that,

"First, The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

"Secondly, All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them. And all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are now prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles the II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles the II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quitrents, and other public charges incurred, and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, belonging, or remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall, and may use, exercise and practise, their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles the II., provided that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

* No. 63.

" Thirdly, All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article in the same manner as if they were present: provided such merchants do repair into this kingdom in the space of eight months from the date hereof.

" Fourthly, The following officers, viz., Colonel Simon Luttrell, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

" Fifthly, That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James the II., and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-justices and generals will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing clerks' fees.

" Sixthly, And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding these inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for arms, horses, goods, money, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed, in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

" Seventhly, Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

" Eighthly, The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave

the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

"Ninthly, The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

Tenthly, No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

"Eleventhly, The lords-justices, and general, do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

"Twelfthly, Lastly, the lords-justices and general, do undertake, that their majesties do ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

"Thirteenthly, And whereas Colonel Brown stood indebted to several protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords-justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estate secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof;

"For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,"

CHAR. PORTER.

THO. CONINGSBY.

BAR. DE GINCKLE.

Present

SCRAVENMORE.

H. MACCAY.

T. TALMASH.

"And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since in pursuance of the said articles surrendered unto us,—Now, know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And to such parts thereof, for which an act of

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parliament shall be found necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz:—‘And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,’ should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation and inserted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the same omitted words, viz:—‘And all such as are under their protection in the counties,’ hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy, the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake, in the said second article, notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c., Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus presentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.”

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. KEEK,
LACON WM. CHILDE, } *In cancel. Magistros.*

By the military articles, there was secured a full permission for such Irish officers and soldiers as might be so inclined to go beyond seas into any country they might think fit (England and Scotland excepted) with their families and moveable property of every description. And by several distinct and specific articles, all the essential provisions to facilitate such a removal were for the time secured. It next became a matter of anxious effort on the part of Sarsfield and the French officers, to bring away with them the greatest number they could of the Irish soldiers, while on the other side, De Ginckle had to exert a vigilant superintendence to prevent the application of constraint. The Irish generals contrived to lock up these men, who were carefully guarded: and large distributions of money, brandy, and other articles of value were made to induce their consent. A lieutenant-colonel who was confined for refusing to go to France, wrote a letter of complaint to De Ginckle, who thereupon commanded a battery to be planted on

Ball's Bridge, and in his resentment declared that "he would teach the Irish to play upon him." On this Sarsfield came out to the camp to expostulate, and concluded by saying that he was in De Ginckle's power. "Not so," replied the general, "but you shall go in again and do the worst you can." Sarsfield put a reasonable face on the matter, and showed that they had simply exercised military control over their own officers for misdemeanours. It is not, however, improbable, that the accusation was true. It is also asserted by historians, that at this very time, one of the strong incentives made use of in working on the Irish, was the promise of return in the following year to revenge their defeat: a suggestion so adapted to excite and keep alive a pernicious spirit of disaffection and turbulence, and so opposed to the principle of the treaty just concluded, that if true, we cannot conceive treachery and deception carried much further. Sermons in accordance with the principles of their priesthood in that day of bigotry, were preached, to assert the duty of adherence to the French, and the "certain damnation which would be the consequence if they joined with heretics." A course of proceeding, which, we must say, converts into the most impudent mockery all the complaints of party-writers, on the assumed infringements of the treaty of Limerick.

On his part the general put forth a counter declaration, assuring them "how willing he was to indulge and provide for such, who, remaining in the kingdom, or serving their majesties abroad, had rather promote the British and Irish interest, than the designs of France against both. He therefore promised, that all officers and soldiers, who were inclined to return home, should have leave to do so with all their goods and effects, and should be permitted to live quietly under the protection of the government. That though by the capitulation all the troopers of the Irish army (except 600 that had license to go abroad), were to deliver up their horses without payment, yet he gave to the troopers and dragoons leave to sell them to whom they thought fit, and promised to pay them for their arms, upon their giving them up to the artillery officers, either in the Irish town of Limerick, or in the camp; and the same to the foot-soldiers: That those officers and soldiers who were willing to serve under their majesties, should have quarters immediately assigned them, and subsistence till their majesties' further pleasure: and as it has been industriously reported that such of the Irish as should enter into their majesties' service, were to be sent into Hungary, and other remote parts, contrary to their inclinations, he concluded by assuring them, that they should not be obliged to serve in any place against their wills, nor be constrained to take service in Ireland, or to return to their homes, they being at full liberty to choose what side they would take; but if once they went to France, they must never expect to return home again."

This declaration was distributed among the Irish, who were drawn together by their commanders. They amounted to 14,000 effective men. Adjutant-general Withers was commissioned to lay before them the advantages in favour of the English service, and to point out that it was unnatural to serve France against the independence of their own country. The whole body were reviewed on the county of Clare side, and De Ginckle with his generals crossed over to see them. They

were then ordered to march, and a point was marked where those who were inclined to stay at home, were to file off from those who were to depart. The royal regiment, to the number of 1400, went on for France, with the exception of seven men : " which," says Harris, " gave general Ginckle much concern, for they were the best corps in king James' service." Some regiments and several parties of regiments also declared for France. But Lord Iveagh's regiment of Ulster Irish, Colonel Wilson's, about half Lord Louth's, and great numbers out of nearly every other regiment, came out and filed off for the English service. These latter were then mustered, and provision was made for their subsistence.*

Some efforts were made to diminish the ill effect of the articles which thus permitted such numbers of the Irish to enter into a foreign and hostile service. The lords-justices contrived to dismiss the prisoners who were kept at Lambay, to their homes, without informing them of the treaty. This step was unquestionably as much for the advantage of these men, as for that of the state: nor can we admit that the treaty demanded more than the absence of compulsion: the government was not bound to second, in any way, the gross delusion of which so many unhappy poor people were made the victims. Yet on the other side, it must be admitted, that it is so easy to find specious reasons for the violation of every political principle, that if public faith is of any moment, there should be no excuse admitted for the slightest deviation from the strict and literal observance of treaties. Less equivocal in its character was the obstacle which Count Nassau threw in the way of this embarkation for France, by preventing the wives and children of the emigrants from being shipped. This was a direct infraction of the first article of the treaty: on which Sarsfield wrote to De Ginckle to remonstrate, and represented, " that as hitherto they had proceeded on both sides with sincerity, so relying on his Excellency's honour, and the public faith, they expected to be dealt withal without forcing or wresting any meaning out of the articles, contrary to agreement and the general sense of them; which candid manner of proceeding," says he, " will add to the reputation of your arms, that of your justice."† On this De Ginckle consulted with the lords-justices, and they agreed that the desire of Sarsfield was just and should be conceded.

It remains to mention the fate of these men. They were embarked for France in French and English vessels during the month of November. On the return of the English ships after landing the Irish at Brest, they reported that they had received every assistance they wanted in the French port; but that the Irish were not so well treated as they expected to be. They received a congratulatory letter in the name of the French king, full of splendid promises of pay, clothing, and quarters: but the crippled performance limped far behind these liberal words. They were quartered in lanes and hedges under the wintry air of December, and excluded, to a man, from the city of Brest. Nor was their treatment confined to mere bodily suffering and privation, which the Irish know well how to endure; their pride, the tenderest point with Irishmen of every degree, was insulted. It was

* Harris.

† Ibid.

perhaps quite inconsistent with the conventions of the polished and refined school of the French service, that soldiers, such as the Irish actually were, by the accident of a party-war and utterly untrained, perhaps too somewhat behind in point of manners and education, should take rank in the French service according to their casual elevation at home. But the most exquisite malice could not have invented a more unlucky blow to the pride of these brave and high-minded, though rude men, than the order which degraded every officer, from the general down to the corporal, one step in military rank. The effect of this mixture of slight and neglect was quickly shown: numbers of these men endeavoured to obtain their passage back, and such as had the means offered large sums; so that guards were soon set over them, and the masters of vessels forbidden on pain of death to receive them. Their letters were however not stopped, and soon spread a strong reluctance among those who had not yet embarked: great desertions took place from the troops still remaining with Sarsfield at Cork, and three regiments turned out together and peremptorily refused to embark.

This caused Sarsfield and Waucop to determine against any further delay, and on the 22d of December, they hurried all that remained under their charge on board. On this occasion it has been noticed that they themselves had recourse to a mixture of force and fraud, to deprive these unfortunate dupes whom they led, of the benefit of the very article for which they had so recently contended; "having," says Harris, on the authority of a correspondence to which he refers, "published a declaration, 'giving liberty to as many of the Irish as pleased to transport their families along with themselves.' Accordingly, vast numbers of all sorts came to the waterside, when Waucop pretended to ship the soldiers in order, according to their lists. They first carried all the men on board, and when the boats returned for the officers, the women catching hold to be carried to the ships, many of them were dragged off, others through timorousness losing their holds were drowned, while those who held faster had their fingers cut off and perished in the sight of their husbands."* No excuse can be made for this awful scene of fraud and cruelty.

By these events a final period was put to the war. Ireland was reduced to her usual state of unprogressive stagnation, occasionally broken by the cry of discontent, the murmur of rising disaffection, and the terror or the reality of popular risings, at intervals corresponding nearly with the successive generations of Irishmen. Of the causes of this hapless and anomalous constitution, we shall abstain from the notice, so far as the honesty of our purpose admits. We have already, in the progress of our labour, arrived at that point which most Irish historians have justly viewed as the termination of their task. Some have chosen to pass down to modern times. With us (from the nature of our undertaking) this is no matter of choice, but of necessity; but when the few lives worthy of mention, which have relation to some one or other of the preceding events shall be exhausted, which cannot require many pages, we consider that the nature of our task will be in

* Harris.

many respects changed. Our memoirs will become more strictly biographical, and less historical; and literature will begin to occupy the place of primary importance, hitherto assigned to politics.

POLITICAL SERIES.

ROGER MOORE, OR O'MORE.

DIED A. D. 1643.

IN writing the lives of numerous persons, of whom most are to be chiefly distinguished for the several parts which they sustained in the same succession of events, it would be as vain as it would be embarrassing to preserve the unbroken order of history. We are at every fresh life compelled to look at the same main events, with the choice of changing the aspect and suppressing or expanding the details, as they become more or less the appropriate accessories to the principal figure, which is to occupy the foreground of narration. Something, however, we have effected to counterbalance this necessity, by the adoption of a double order of arrangement; following the succession of deaths as a general guide, to keep a just preservation of the course of generations—on a smaller scale we have endeavoured to be guided by the succession of events; in this, placing the contemporary individuals as nearly as we might, so as to preserve the true sequence of their *historical* existence. Thus though often entangled in the necessary repetition of minor incidents, without any regard to order, the greater and more cardinal events will be found in their true places, and comparatively freed from the encumbrance of needless repetition. And the same necessity of preserving a biographical form, renders it necessary to introduce, among our notices of the more important and weighty, some persons and some historical facts not strictly within the scope of mere biography.

In one of the letters of the great earl of Chesterfield to his son, he advises, in reading history, the especial study of troublous and revolutionary periods, as alone furnishing a sufficiency of lessons useful to the statesman and philosopher. However this may be, it is undeniable that such epochs are vastly richer in political biography than the calmer events in the life of nations. The opportunities for the display of energy are during them more conspicuous, and the incentives immeasurably more powerful. Personal qualities influence more markedly the course of events, and form the material of history, as well as its salient points and landmarks. This remark holds especially true of Irish lives. The centre of authority being out of the island, it is chiefly when that authority is menaced or imperilled that local actions rise into historical importance, and local character assumes dignity. And of all the perturbations with which its annals are rife, the great rebellion which began in 1641, and terminated in 1657, forms in this respect no exception, partly from the reaction of exhaustion which followed the excitement of the wars of Elizabeth, partly

from the dead level which it had been the policy of Stafford to establish, and partly because that rebellion itself was, on one side, the culmination of efforts that had long been in preparation, and of feelings that had long been smouldering, but were by it only first brought to light.

In commencing, therefore, the political series of Lives of this division of our work, we shall find the dearth of great local names between those that distinguished the close of Elizabeth's reign and its outbreak sufficiently accounted for in these considerations, and find it convenient also, for the sake of historical clearness, to give the first place to those who figure on the side which began and sustained this tragic outbreak.

The author of a pleasing and popular work on the principal incidents of our history, has somewhere described this rebellion as a great and fearful tragedy in three acts. The comparison is valuable for its perfect truth. The first brief act in this terrible drama is brought out into prominent relief in the course of the biography of Roger O'More, lightened up in its details by the actions of Sir Philip O'Neile, recorded in the subsequent memoir. The arrival in Ireland of Owen O'Neile, and the events that followed in the succeeding memoir of this great rebel, is coincident with its second long act. At the rising of the curtain he stands before the scene. The third and last is developed in a series of memoirs, and more fully detailed in that of the great duke of Ormonde.

ROGER LEIX, known chiefly as Roger Moore or O'More, was the representative of the ancient family of this name, in the province of Leinster. The names of his ancestors have frequently occurred in Irish history. A sept bordering upon the English pale must have been exposed to the constant effects of those mutual aggressions, which slight occasions were ever sufficient to provoke from either side. And as the English power became ascendant before the secret of this ascendancy was fully comprehended by the Irish, the spirit of opposition continued until the retaliations of the government became more decisive and overwhelming. The native leaders, looking on their numbers, and on the experience of previous encounters, little calculated on the consequence of a more regulated and deliberate direction of the English force, and inadvertently pushed their aggressions to extremity. With a fallacious confidence in their own strength, and ignorance of the real resources of the government, they continued to present a front of resistance, till they drew upon themselves utter destruction.

In the reign of Mary, the O'Mores had been expelled from their possessions; and we must assent to the general sense of our authorities, that there was in this violent and extreme proceeding a very considerable mixture of injustice and deception. The result was a hereditary enmity to the English—a passion in its fullest violence inherited by Roger Moore.

Having passed some years of his youth in Spain, he was, while there, chiefly conversant with those Irish or their descendants who had taken refuge in that kingdom after the rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, and who naturally cherished the recollections of their ancestral honours, and of the wrongs which they attributed to the English; these sentiments were inflamed by the national enmity of Spain, which had for the course of the last generation burned against England with

a violence unabated by occasional intervals of alliance and peace. The humiliations of reverse are relieved in some measure by the recollections of the "times of old;" there is a dignified character in suffering for a great cause, and a romantic grandeur in the resentment of national wrongs. The companions of Moore—young men of enterprising spirit and military ambition—were invested with the honours of misfortune; and living among a romantic and ardent people, learned to feel their own proud importance as patriots, and as the sufferers of adversity in a noble cause. Such was the congenial atmosphere in which the ardour of Roger Moore caught fire. But his was not a spirit to waste its fervour in the peaceful ostentation of suffering heroism. While his enthusiastic spirit was inflamed by the traditions of ten thousand wrongs, and exalted with the glory of a noble line, his enterprise was roused, and his active and ready intellect was stimulated to projects of revenge, and for the recovery of his possessions. Among his companions who fed themselves with resentment and hope, there could be no want of breasts to respond to this excitement, and Moore met encouragement, applause, exhortations, and promises of assistance. Above all, his designs met encouragement from the son of the late unfortunate Hugh O'Neile. O'Neile had obtained a regiment in the Spanish service: he was looked up to by his countrymen at home and abroad with feelings something similar to those with which the descendants of Stuart were regarded in England and Scotland.

This temper was additionally excited by the agency of deeper and wider causes. Years before the rebellion, lord Strafford received information from M'Mahon, an Irish priest, that a general insurrection in Ireland was designed, and that great exertions were making to obtain foreign assistance. As the time drew nigh similar warnings flowed in from the residents in every foreign court. And the Irish lords-justices received an intimation from the English cabinet, "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen to England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretence of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught."*

In Ireland the insurrection was mounting to the point of combustion. The agents mentioned in the despatch of secretary Vane were not remiss in their labour of love; and Moore was not less industrious or successful in conciliating, inflaming, concentrating, and organizing the spirits and the resources of Irish patriotism. He was indeed eminently qualified for the office; his mind was endowed with all the nobler tones of the Irish character; he had imagination to exalt and dignify, enthusiasm to animate and warm, eloquence to communicate: his high bearing and graceful address could win the eye, and his frank and earnest patriotism strike corresponding flashes from the simple and ardent hearts of his countrymen. Though not gifted with solid and practical wisdom—he was quick, ingenious, and penetrating, and

* Carte, Letter xviii. Vol. III.

possessed that instinctive insight into character which enabled him to seize upon the master passion of his hearer, and avail himself of the motives by which each individual was most likely to be influenced. With these qualifications for the task of awakening insurrection, he was also gifted with a humane and honourable temper, which had he been a wiser man, would have checked his career, and restrained him from the application of that fatal brand, which it cost so many years of blood and gall to quench ineffectually. But Moore was a creature of romance, his dream was the vindication of national rights, and he fondly thought that armed violence could be limited by the feeble barriers of justice, honour, and humanity. With the advantage of a popular manner and prepossessing exterior, he quickly won the hearts of the common people: he was extensively and highly connected with many of the noblest families of the pale, and maintained a familiar intimacy with the noblest of the English race. His influence was thus easily extended into every quarter, and there was no circle in which he had not means to try his way, and if possible, insinuate disaffection. With all these advantages he gained a rapid ascendancy.

Among his kindred and friends he found some whom their fortune and tempers recommended more especially as fit objects for his purposes: Richard Plunket, a son of Sir Christopher Plunket, Maguire lord Iniskillen, MacMahon, Philip Reilly, and Tirlagh O'Neile. To each of these he presented the suggestions most adapted to their several characters and positions: to all he urged the facilities and probabilities in favour of a general rising. He advised that each should endeavour to gain over his own friends to the project: and that they should hasten their preparations for declaring themselves in a few months, when the approach of winter should lessen the danger of any interference from England. Of the first overtures which he made to these conspirators, a minute account has been given by lord Maguire: from this we shall here give a full extract, as the most satisfactory statement which can be obtained of the beginning of this most disastrous rebellion:—"Being in Dublin, Candlemas term last was twelve months, 1640, the parliament then sitting, Mr Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me that, if I could in that spare time, I would come to his house, for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired; and that some things he had to say to me that did nearly concern me; and on the receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament landed, and I returned him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he came himself to town presently after, and sending to me, I went to see him at his lodging. And after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave great distaste to the whole kingdom. And then he began to particularize the sufferings of them that were the more ancient natives, as were the Irish: now that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors' estates. All which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent over all

the whole kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish. And that if the gentry of the kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconvenience, and get good conditions for themselves, for regaining their ancestors' (at least a good part thereof) estates, they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers in Scotland being then on foot; and did ask me what I thought of it?

"I made him answer, that I could not tell what to think of it; such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have of me an oath of secrecy, which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Connaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster: for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in then, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof.* And moreover, how the welfare and maintaining the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend upon it: for, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion;—by which persuasions he obtained my consent. And so he demanded whether any more of the Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Mr Philip Reilly, Mr Tirlough O'Neile brother to Sir Phelim O'Neile, and Mr Cossloe MacMahon, were in town; so for that time we parted.

"The next day he invited Mr Reilly and I to dine with him; and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen, Mr O'Neile and Mr MacMahon, and when they were come, he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained their consent. And then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great number of able men in the kingdom, meaning Ireland: what succours they were to hope for from abroad: and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed, meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First, that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did not live in one county with them. And when they had so done, they would send to the Irish in the low countries, and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution: so that they would be over with them by that day or soon after with a supply of arms and ammunition, as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day, and seize on all the arms he could get in his county; and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send

* *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit*, the true old secret of rebellion, however the outside may be ornamented with the dream of liberty, and the pretence of patriotism.

forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond seas, who, he said, could not miss of help from either Spain or the Pope.* Such was the plan proposed by Moore; but lord Maguire informs us that the company did not entirely adopt his proposal. They resolved not to stir in the matter until they should first have ascertained how far they might depend on having help from the continent. They were also desirous to have the advice and consent of the gentry through Ireland. On this point Moore urged, "that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry: for that there was no doubt to be made of the Irish, but that they would be ready at any time," &c. Among other things he told them, that there was a great man whose name for the present he was sworn to conceal; but who would not fail them if the rising should begin. This was lord Mayo, as he declared on a pledge of secrecy from lord Maguire and the rest of the company.

From this, Moore continued to exert his utmost efforts, while the other principal parties, just mentioned, held themselves in reserve, according to the views they had taken. Their caution was not yet overcome, and they were resolved not to commit themselves, until they could ascertain the security for success and safety. Moore proceeded soon after into Ulster, where he hoped to meet many of the gentry at the assizes; but meeting few, and not finding the readiness he expected, the utmost that could be determined was the postponement of further proceedings, till the following May, when the conspirators should meet in Dublin. In the mean time, a message from the earl of Tyrone came from Spain, to confer with the members of his family and name, and inform them that he had obtained the cardinal Richelieu's promise to send arms, ammunition, and money, on demand, to Ireland: and that he himself only awaited the favourable moment to join them, and desired them to be ready.† This message quickened the dilatory, and gave new life to their proceedings. When they met in Dublin, Mr Moore, Reilly, lord Maguire, and his brother dispatched the messenger (Neile O'Neile) back to Spain, to announce their determination to rise on "twelve or fourteen days before or after All Hallowtide, as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them at that time."‡

In the mean time, the earl of Tyrone was killed. On receiving confirmation of this afflicting intelligence, Moore sent off one father Connolly, the priest of the parish in which he lived, to colonel Owen O'Neile. Further incidents soon occurred to favour the views and quicken the resolution of the conspirators. Intelligence was received of severe proclamations against the members of the church of Rome, in England, and of the hostile declarations of the Scots against that communion. A permission from king Charles to levy men for the Spanish service, and an order to transport for the purpose, the Irish regiments then in Ireland, set these leaders actively to work; they set

* The relation of Lord Maguire.

† Lord Maguire's Narrative.

‡ Ibid.

on foot a violent clamour against the removal of the army, on the adherence of which they relied, and they also availed themselves of the occasion to levy troops as if for Spain. In this, Plunket already mentioned, Hugh Byrne, the wrongs of whose father we have already related, and an officer of the name of O'Neile, volunteered their exertions. To these, Sir James Dillon added his exertions, and gave his concurrence and the weight of his name. From this gentleman, lord Maguire learned the design entertained by himself and his branch of the conspiracy, which was to devote the force they were raising to the defence of the Irish catholics against the Scots; they were to begin by seizing on the castle, where they expected to find abundant supplies of arms and military stores. On their arrival in Dublin, a meeting was held between the principal conspirators and the colonels of the army, who were thus engaged in the same enterprise. At this meeting they discussed the points: how they should secure money to pay the soldiers; how they should obtain foreign succours; how they should draw in the gentry of the pale; who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be attempted. To these points it was respectively answered: that the rents should be collected to pay the soldiery, and that the Pope had promised Tyrone to maintain 6000 men at his own charge; for foreign aid, the promises of the Spanish ambassador in London were alleged; for the gentry of the pale, colonel Plunket answered that they would not be found slow to join in their arms; the seizure of the castle was undertaken by colonels Plunket and Bourne. This meeting was held "in the end of August, 1641, or beginning of September."* And as these colonels were to surprise the castle with no more than 100 men, Sir James Dillon pledged himself to join them in a few days, after they should have succeeded, with 1000 men. It was thought that once seizing the castle, they could command the town with its artillery.

While farther meetings and messages were going on, and the conspirators were yet doubtful when to rise, they received an intimation through Mr Moore, from Owen O'Neile, desiring them to rise without further loss of time, and that he would join them on fourteen days' notice. There nevertheless appears still to have been much irresolution, indicated by numerous abortive meetings and desultory resolutions. At last, on the 5th October, the principal conspirators resolved to attempt the castle on the 23d, which being a market day, the concourse of people would less attract the notice of the government. To the question, as to the leaders in this enterprise, Moore replied that he would be one, and colonel Bourne another; the castle he observed had two gates, that the Leinster men should undertake the small gate, and the Ulster men the other. Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire attempted to excuse themselves from being present, but Moore insisted. Sir Phelim pleaded the necessity of being away to seize upon Londonderry; but Maguire was compelled to give his consent to be present.

* Lord Maguire's Narrative.

It was a necessary part of their plan, and, in the existing condition of the English garrisons, not unlikely to be crowned with success. that they were similarly, and at the same time, to obtain possession of every important place of strength.

By simultaneous movements on the same day, Londonderry, Carrickfergus, and Newry, were to be surprised, and directions were to be circulated through the country, that the gentry should everywhere rise and seize upon the nearest forts.

On the 22d, one day before that fixed for the attack, the conspirators assembled in Dublin, and met to weigh their strength, and settle the proceedings for the next day. Of 200 men they had counted upon, but 80 had arrived, and it was proposed to delay the attack until the afternoon, to give time for others to come in.

But while they were thus concerting their plan, other incidents were taking place elsewhere.

The council had already received warning from Sir William Cole, of many suspicious indications, such as were sufficient to satisfy all intelligent persons, who were not stupified by the opiate atmosphere of the Castle, that something unusual and dangerous was afloat. The movements of Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire had been observed. But the Castle crew were unwilling to be roused from the placid slumber of office, and were content to recommend watchfulness to others. On the eve of the rebellion, however, they received a warning not to be trifled with, with impunity.

Owen Conolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, on the evening of the 22d, was seized by the watch, and brought to lord-justice Parsons, and disclosed to him the whole particulars of the conspiracy. Parsons disbelieved the story, it carried the appearance of exaggeration, and it was apparent that the informant was considerably affected by intoxication. He told his tale confusedly, and his answers seemed not consistent. Parsons, perhaps to get rid of him, desired him to go and obtain further discoveries. On cool reflection, however, he thought it expedient to consult with lord Borlase, to whom he forthwith repaired, though it was ten o'clock at night. Borlase, saw the matter in a stronger light, and blamed his colleague for letting O'Conolly go. O'Conolly was however easily found. He had not gone far before his intoxication attracted the notice of the sentinels, and he either was detained or remained for safety. He was found by the messenger of Borlase. He had become a little more collected, but as he was not yet perfectly coherent in his statement, he now represented that his head was affected by the strong potations which had been forced upon him, but that if he were permitted to lie down for a little, he could explain all clearly. He was sent to bed, while the lord Borlase sent round to summon as many of the council as could be found. They were soon joined by Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith the chancellor of the exchequer. Orders were sent to secure the city gates, and strengthen the castle guard, while the lord mayor and city officers received directions to have all persons watched who should appear in the streets.

In the mean time, O'Conolly became collected, and detailed the particulars contained in the following document:—

“Examination of Owen O’Conolly.

“Who being duly sworn and examined, saith; That he being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon, desiring him to come to Connaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither; he came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the lord Maguire, when they found not the lord Maguire within, and there they drank a cup of beer and went back to the said Hugh’s lodging. He saith, that at the lord Maguire’s lodging, the said Hugh told him, that there were and would be this night great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town; who, with himself, had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and to possess themselves of all his majesty’s ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday. And that they intended first to batter the chimnies of said town, and if the citizens would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, that he the said Hugh told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock; and that in all the seaports and other towns in the kingdom, all the protestants should be killed that night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it. And further saith, that he [O’Conolly] moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for saving of his own estate, who said, that he could not help it: but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who had got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it. Whereupon the examinant feigned some necessity for his leasement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him: and when this examinant came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity he, this examinant, leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the lord-justice Parsons.

(Signed)	“WILLIAM PARSONS,	} OWEN O’CONOLLY.
	“THOMAS ROTHERAM,	
	“ROBERT MEREDITH,	

“Oct. 22, 1641.”

While this examination was going on, MacMahon and others were secured; many however escaped seizure, and of those who were taken, some contrived to get away. MacMahon, when brought before the council, spoke plainly. He seems to have relied on the assumption that the insurrection was successful in every other part of the kingdom. It was five in the morning, and he told them "that on that very day, all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken."—"That he with the lord Maguire, &c., &c., were come up expressly to seize the castle of Dublin, and that 20 men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papists, were engaged in the plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And withal told them, that it was here they had him in their power and might use him how he pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."

It is mentioned, that while MacMahon was waiting in the hall, he was observed to amuse himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or lying prostrate on the ground. The act was probably designed to convey a threat, by the only means left at the moment.

While the justices were yet at lord Borlase's dwelling, at Chichester house in College green, then without the city gates, they were found by Sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of the fort of Galway. Arriving that evening he found the gates shut and noticed an unusual appearance of movement and bustle in the surrounding suburbs. Being apprised that the justices were there he hastened to find them.

He informed them that he had found the country quiet along his way; but that there was a very considerable concourse of strange horsemen pouring into the suburbs. And advised their removal into the castle.

The lords-justices, having removed into the castle at Willoughby's advice, appointed him commander of the castle and city. And sent out a proclamation into all parts of the country to put the peaceful and loyal on their guard.

"Thus," observes Carte, "by the hand of Providence rather than by the care of the government, was defeated a design, easy in the execution, and which, if it had taken effect, would have endangered the whole kingdom." The castle was guarded by eight infirm soldiers and forty halberdiers, and contained 1500 barrels of powder, with ball and other arms in proportion, and 35 cannon.*

We must for the present refer the subsequent events to other memoirs, and return to Moore. On the night of the incidents above narrated he made his escape, and directed his course to Ulster, where he thought his presence most necessary. While there he is supposed to have been the author of a manifesto which shortly after made its appearance, stating the complaints of the Roman catholics and their motives in taking arms. Such documents need not be here quoted, as in all such

* Carte.

cases, they can only be regarded as specious, and for the purpose of giving the fairest or most popular outside to a cause. With regard to Moore, we believe him to have been sincere in all that he professed, and far from the execrable purposes which have been imputed to many engaged in that rebellion. His wish was but justice, according to the notions he entertained, and he had chimerically assumed that justice could be executed strictly, and humanity preserved by the sword of insurrection—a dream, which has often deluded the enthusiastic and high-minded, who little know or are capable of knowing the instruments they must use and the passions they are about to awaken. In his manifesto, Moore dwelt upon the oppression of the Roman catholics by inferior governors—acknowledged that they had been indulged with liberty of conscience, by the favour of the king; but complains of the fears which they had reason to entertain from the landing of the Scots, who were expected to land “with sword and Bible,” for the extinction of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland. They complain of a design against the “papist and protestant bishops of the kingdom,” and propose “that the king should secure them and the protestants of this kingdom,” &c. We have quoted the above words from this paper for the purpose of showing the peculiar ground which was at first taken up by the more moderate of Moore’s party. And it is necessary to notice, that the word protestant is often used by the Roman catholics in their writings of that period, in contra-distinction from the puritans.

It appears indeed, plain enough, from the general tenor, both of the public declarations and conduct of Roger Moore and his associates, that they neither designed nor anticipated the frightful scenes which were to follow. Rebellion as it advances, rapidly numbers in its ranks all the extreme views and all the atrocious passions of human nature. As the movement advances, it grows broad and deep; and its constituent elements become more fierce, unrefined, and base. The philosophers and politicians, the soldiers, scholars, and gentlemen, are soon pushed aside to make way for the ruffianly and reckless spirits, which ever take the lead in popular movements; and such was the course of these events which are now so long to fill our pages.

Moore’s activity and genius had propagated an impulse, which was ere long to escape from his control. On the other side, the danger was increased by the incapacity of government, and the want of all the ordinary resources of civil control; there was neither justice, prudence, nor vigour, to meet it at the source. Instead of a formidable resort to military means or a fair disposition to redress reasonable complaints, a strife of intrigue and insidious negotiation commenced the contest. The memorials presented to the king were mixed with complaints against the lords-justices; these in their turn sent private statements to the earl of Leicester; and their statements were largely mingled with misrepresentation. They also harassed and impeded the proceedings of the parliament which was sensible of the approaching crisis, and disposed to act with spirit tempered by moderation.

If, indeed, it may be said with truth, that the insurgent party were ignorant of the consequences which they were to draw upon themselves

and their country, there seems every reason to suspect that the Irish government was equally infatuated. They either underrated the danger, (the common error of governments,) or they ignorantly wished to push the rebellion to an extremity of which they computed the advantages. The errors were probably concurrent. The result was an effort to impede such information as might be expected to bring succour from England, and to check the loyalty of the well-affected. They had with difficulty been prevailed upon to call a parliament; and when it had assembled, they were so anxious to get rid of it, that they would hardly allow time for a vote of supply. The parliament drew up a spirited declaration against the rebellion, and appointed agents to inquire and report the state of matters to the king and council; but they were not allowed the time required for the completion of this proceeding. A second day was allowed on much entreaty by the obstinacy of the lords-justices. And the parliament, finding itself suspected, or divining the real motive, and resolved on discharging its duty to the public, passed a vote empowering them to levy forces for the defence of the kingdom, and to raise money by assessment for the purpose.

Lord Dillon of Costello was appointed to present a memorial to the king, containing complaints against the lords-justices, and recommending the appointment of the earl of Ormonde. It is also probably conjectured,* that they recommended the adoption of those just measures for the security of property, which could not fail to be unacceptable to the party then at the helm. But the industry of the castle was alert in the vocation of intrigue. In the very same packet which conveyed lord Dillon with his commission, the agent of Parsons and Borlase conveyed their counter-statements and their representations of the design and characters of the opposed part of the council, whose names are given by Carte and others—Sir Richard Bolton the lord chancellor, Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Ormonde, Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, John Leslie bishop of Raphoe, Robert lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, afterwards lord Roscommon, and Sir Gerard Lowther, judge of the common pleas. These persons who were for acting by the only rational and just way, and employing military rigour to suppress violence, and legislative justice to quiet just discontents, were denounced by the narrow and self-interested lords-justices, whose representations were but too successful. Declaring their distrust in the eminent persons whom we have enumerated, and the danger of employing any force levied in Ireland or commanded by Irishmen, they entreated for an English army, of which they proposed to supply the expense by confiscations.†

The packet was met by a storm, and cast upon the Scottish coast. Lord Dillon and lord Taaffe, the agents of the moderate party, while proceeding on their way to London, were seized at Ware, and their papers taken from them and suppressed: after which they were confined for some months, until their escape was considered of no consequence.

* Carte.

† Carte, I. 228.

This conduct of the lords-justices gave encouragement to Roger Moore and his party. The prorogation of the parliament left them without any counter-check; the refusal of the Irish government to permit the activity of the native leaders who had volunteered against them, left them in possession of the field. The selfish policy adopted by the castle junto, threw a heavy weight of just complaints into the scale in their favour. Their cause seemed to prosper, and they were advancing in confidence and numbers. Moore lay near Dundalk and Atherdee, with a body of 2500 men, so undisciplined and unarmed that they could have been of no use in the field. They were yet, in the absence of all resistance, sufficient to give the appearance of strength; and their confidence was increased by a commission from parliament sent to treat with them. In their infatuation they treated this overture with a contempt which indicates plainly enough their confidence in themselves. Moore (so far as we can form any conjecture,) was not quite the dupe of this vain confidence: he was by far too well informed, observant, and prudent, not to be aware that his present strength lay in the absence of an enemy. He strongly urged the folly of declarations against the English, which the rabble who followed him had indulged in, and advised that they should mainly rest their cause on religious grievances. With this view he also gave them the dignified title of *Catholic Army*, a seasonable artifice, and equally illustrative of his enthusiasm and dexterity. There never was a more disastrous pretext for Ireland, or more fortunately adopted for the views of the rebel leaders. It not only served to conceal the secret motives and put them out of view, but tended to attract to their standard many who would most resolutely have opposed them; and above all, it embodied the real grievances of some of the most considerable bodies in the kingdom. The priesthood were counted on as their most efficient and trusty friends; and the Roman catholic lawyers, whose influence pervaded the Irish aristocracy, and whose professional employment was restricted by the oaths they were required to take, were also to be conciliated. The English parliament had proceeded with a harshness against the English Roman catholics, which added motives of terror to those of grievance; and Parsons had been said to declare in a large company, that "within a twelvemonth not a catholic should be seen in Ireland."

Such were, in brief, the circumstances which gave to Moore's expedient the force of a universal call to arms, and subsequently led to the most hapless direction of popular fanaticism—a fatal instrument, which has never been successful for good, though it has often forged an iron crown, and riveted the chains of those who are its dupes: under its insane influence—the lunacy of nations—deeds have been done, of fear, desperation, and blind resentment, which the plain rule of justice, unsusceptible of refined distinctions, must for the interests of mankind treat as guilt; although the decision of the historian, who is allowed to weigh men's actions in the balance of determining motives and causes, may temper his judgment with the palliation of error, infatuation, and the panic of insane excitement, which, when it seizes the crowd, seems to awaken and concentrate the worst passions of man's nature into

something more fierce and formidable than belongs to any other known living species.

The violent proceedings of the English commons, and the policy of the rebel leaders, as here described, was rendered still more productive of evil by the first measures of the lords-justices. While they repelled the aid of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, they had recourse to that of persons who were recommended by their thorough participation in the views and prejudices of their employers. A soldier of fortune trained in the former rebellion of Ulster, led a small force against a party of rebels which had invested the castle of Wicklow. These were easily repelled; but the soldiers of the lords-justices committed the most unprovoked outrages upon the people of the town, and thus gave a premature specimen of the mercy to be expected from these men. They sent an undisciplined body of 650 men to the relief of Drogheda, and thus afforded the rebel leaders the opportunity of a triumph, which served to increase and encourage their followers. And, lastly, they crowned the offence which their whole conduct had given to the Roman catholic lords of the pale, by an insulting exhibition of distrust.

These noblemen, sensible of the approaching commotion and of their own dangerous and questionable position, between their own party and a suspicious and bigoted administration, chose their course with decision and prudence. They prepared at once to embark in the cause of order, loyalty, and the constitution. They had already joined in the vain effort to urge the castle to its duty: they now offered their services. They were met by shallow insidiousness and demonstrations of treachery, too thinly disguised to escape detection; their offers were refused, they were neither allowed to fight for the protection of the state, nor in their own defence: they were desired to stand out naked and defenceless, spurned by one side and a mark for the other. They were disarmed, menaced, and insulted; and withal, the course of things was such as to render it quite evident that the creed which made them objects of all this degradation, must soon assume the form and character of crime. Their position was one of extreme trial; and their conduct is here to be reviewed with humane allowance.

Of these circumstances, favourable for his purpose, Roger Moore was on the watch to take advantage. The lords of the pale met and sent a temperate letter of remonstrance, in which they adverted to the rejection of their services against the rebels, and complained that language had been used in council such as to deter them from waiting upon the lords-justices, &c. To this the lords-justices replied by a proclamation, in which they denied the alleged words; and presently summoned the lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimleston, to attend at a board, on the 17th December, that they might confer with them.

On this, the lords thus summoned, with the principal gentry of the county of Meath, assembled to consult on the hill of Crofty. They had not long been there when they were approached by Roger Moore, attended by colonel MacMahon, and other rebel gentlemen, with a guard of

musqueteers. The lords of the pale rode out to meet them, and lord Gormanston asked why they thus entered the pale in arms? Roger Moore replied—They came, he said, to vindicate their liberty of conscience: that they were armed in defence of the king's prerogative which had been invaded; and also with the design to make the Irish as free as the people of England. On this lord Gormanston asked if these were their genuine designs?—whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This Moore denied: on which lord Gormanston rejoined that these were their common interests, and that they would join them. And all present having agreed, a warrant was thereupon drawn up and issued to the sheriff, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county, to a general meeting in the next week upon Tara hill.

We shall have again to enter into a minute detail of the incidents here briefly noticed. As the insurrection thus mainly raised by the instrumentality of Roger Moore acquired more numerous and powerful leaders, his instrumentality becomes less apparent. Colder hearts and wiser heads—motives more profound, long-sighted, and corrupt—more exasperated passions took their usual places in the council of interested and angry spirits. As they gather in numbers and authority, dissension and divided counsels rose up among them; and the power, influence, and personal ambition of individuals, became ruling springs of the conduct of the party. We may then shortly pass to the end of Moore's career.

The rebellion had, as we have already said, as it extended, yielded to the common law of all unorganized and irregular movements; it lost power as it gathered numerical weight, and was weakened by the varied opinions, principles, and objects, of its influential movers. The English commons, though little disposed to waste their strength upon this country's tumults, and misled by opposite representations, began to supply the means of opposition, men, money, and stores, though with a parsimony ill suited to the state of affairs. However, by the skill, promptness, and bravery, of many distinguished officers, the tide began to be turned, and the rebels became considerably distressed. The Irish chiefs were on the point of abandoning a cause which they began to think hopeless, when their courage was rallied and their hopes revived by the long desired arrival of colonel Owen O'Neill. To increase it still further, several vessels from France landed abundant supplies of arms and ammunition, and a considerable Irish force, with numerous officers who had acquired experience and reputation in foreign service.

Of this advantage, the first use made by the Irish was an effort to give authority and method to their proceedings. The details of this change we are compelled to reserve for a memoir yet to come in its order. The clergy saw their time: they also saw the necessity of infusing order into confused movements, of establishing some source of civil rule, of directing desultory efforts, and of controlling the fierceness of fanaticism. They convened a synod in Kilkenny, and framed a body of acts, among which the principal provided for a national convention of deputies to meet for the government of the country. This

assembly met, and gave form, and for a time vigorous instrumentality to the proceedings of the rebellion. They made declarations, constituted authorities, appointed councils, and distributed commands.

In the division of commands, the first movers were passed by:—persons of desperate fortune and active spirit may be permitted to embrace a desperate cause. But they must be set aside, when the appearance of success brings forward more wary and prudent observers, whose means and authority enable them to give weight to the cause, and render the declaration of their sentiments desired.

Moore began to sink in spirits and health as he fell in estimation and influence. His enthusiasm had been damped by the disapprobation of the conduct and slow progress of a war of which he now began to discern the true course. His humanity and gallantry had been shocked by the savage and brutal spirit which began to manifest itself among the rebels, and which neither his zealous opposition, nor that of other commanders, men of honour and humanity, had the power to control. He had been discontented and disgusted; and after the siege of Drogheda, withdrew to Flanders. At that affair he had been attacked by his own party for attempting to control their brutality. After the convention, which established a supreme council at Kilkenny, he returned only to find himself wholly set aside by inferior persons, who dreaded his energy, and were jealous of his commanding character. They thought it necessary to soothe his bitterness and appease his wounded pride by empty show of respect. He soon fell ill, and died in Kilkenny, and his death is not without reason attributed to mortification.

"He was," writes Carte, "a man of a fair character, highly esteemed by all that knew him, and had so great a reputation for his abilities among the Irish in general, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a phrase among them, 'God and our Lady be our assistance, and Roger Moore.' He exceedingly detested the cruelties committed by the Irish in Ulster; and when he afterwards got to Sir Phelim O'Neile, he did all he could to stop them, and to establish a regular discipline among his mobbish army."*

We shall have but too many occasions to present many and varied details of the disgusting and flagitious atrocities of this long rebellion, of the commencement of which we have given a slight sketch. But we cannot forbear taking this occasion to offer one observation as to the cause of these revolting enormities, which our perusal of the history of Irish rebellions has strongly suggested. The laws which make the rebel a criminal amenable to a species of summary justice, not extended to ordinary crimes, or executed by the laws of the land, are perhaps quite defensible on the ground of abstract theory, nor can we object to their strict justice. But they answer no good or expedient purpose; and fearfully aggravate the horrors and calamities of civil war. They do no good; the rebel marches to the field in defiance of death, and in anticipation of a different result: the law which makes a traitor of him is simply vindictive, it never deterred a single rebel from the field. Its real effects are twofold: to the rebel's discontent it

* Carte.

adds other incentives, the fury of desperation and revenge; he considers capture or the failure of his cause as certain death, or ruin worse than death. This, however, if it were all, would not call for our notice;—the great evil is the vindictive spirit of the cruel and savage retaliation. The military execution, even when attended with the most rigid regard to justice and humanity, is not viewed as justice by those who, right or wrong, consider justice to be on their own side, and are little capable of entertaining distinctions. For every prisoner who is judged as a criminal, and meets a felon's death, some victim is sure to suffer. This victim may be also a prisoner, and the retaliation may for a time be conducted with military order, and not pass the strict limit of a balanced account. So far the evil bears on the troops employed by government, and renders their capture somewhat different in its result from that of regular war. But by degrees, when rebellion happens to be protracted, other conditions arise. The forces on both sides become highly inflamed with the irritation to which many varied causes and incidents will inevitably give birth. Executions become more summary and more vindictive, brutal tempers (never wanting to the purest cause,) are brought into authority, and excesses are committed by angry soldiers: these unhappy and fatal demonstrations, which do no honour to a cause, are not allowed to remain unbalanced in the account of blood; executions of criminal or of *suspected* persons, inflicted without discretion are repaid by massacres without discrimination or mercy. And as every phase of civil disturbance brings its appropriate spirits into the field, the country becomes a scene of diabolical outrage against every claim of humanity.

The evil is increased by the want of prudence and vigour on the part of governments, which so often has been observed to precede rebellion. In their first alarm, the civil powers give way too far, and instead of meeting the evil in its commencement, rather oppose the loyal parties than those whom they have most reason to fear. Among the most common and dangerous errors thus committed, that which most aggravates the ills here noticed, is the mistake of disarming those who are the persons mainly to be defended, and who are sure to be the first objects of attack. This has been too frequently done, by regulations which bear unequally, on the peaceful and disorderly; no precaution of an Irish government has ever extended so far as to spoil the equipments of a rebel army.

SIR PHELIM O'NEILE.

BORN A. D. 1604.—EXECUTED A. D. 1641.

SIR PHELIM O'NEILE, of Kinard, in Tyrone, was, at the time which brings him into historic notice, the principal person of his name in Ireland. He was grandson of Sir Henry O'Neile, who was slain in the action against Sir Cahir O'Doherty, in 1608. The services of Sir

Henry had been acceptable to the government, and he had received a grant of the district called Sir Henry Gage's country.* On his death Sir Phelim was found to be his next heir. On coming of age, he applied to have a new grant, specially naming the lands which were comprised in more general designations in his grandfather's grant; on which, in 1629, a new instrument was made out according to his desire.

He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and while in England professed the protestant religion; he is, however, believed to have changed on his return. Having entered on his property, he soon launched into a career of waste and dissipation, and did not cease until he had nearly wasted his ample property; which he was compelled to encumber almost to its full value. In consequence, he was for some years exposed to embarrassments, which seldom fail to corrupt and harden persons of strong passions and weak understanding, and add no small amount of vice to those follies of which they were the result.

Hugh, earl of Tyrone, died in 1616, leaving a son, who was married, but had no children. Sir Phelim, who was considered next heir, had thereby a new and vast prospect opened to his ambition. Roger Moore found him thus prepared to listen with eager avidity to proposals which were gilded in perspective, with the title and princely possessions of Tyrone. Such were the hopes with which Sir Phelim became the most active partisan of the proceedings of 1641, and entered on a course which soon led him to the scaffold.

In the first movements of 1641, while the insurrection was yet but in its projection, Sir Phelim's house was a central resort for the meetings of the conspirators; thither Moore, and Plunket, and lord Maguire used to come; and from thence messengers were soon observed to be dispatched to all quarters of the compass. Such was the information given by Sir Wm. Cole, in a letter to the lords-justices, on the 11th October, 1641; and we find it confirmed in lord Maguire's narrative, who mentions that he was asked to attend the funeral of Sir Phelim's wife, with a view to "confer with Sir Phelim touching all these proceedings." Sir Phelim next appears as one of the five who met in Dublin to plan the seizure of the castle; on which occasion Maguire and a few more were seized, while the main conspirators escaped.

Some time in the same month, Sir Phelim achieved an exploit which exhibits his character in no honourable point of view. It has been already mentioned, that on the first meetings of Sir Phelim with Moore and his associates, it was planned, on the same day that the castle was to be surprised, to obtain by similar means, possession of all the forts and garrisons in the provinces. It was allotted to Sir Phelim to secure the forts and garrisons of Ulster. Of these, Charlemont fort was under the command of Sir Tobias Caulfield, lord Charlemont, then a very old man. Sir Phelim was his neighbour, and as such was on the most intimate footing of hospitable intercourse, as hospitality was

* Carte.

practised in those simple old times. This intimate friendship was now perceived by the low-minded tact of Sir Phelim to offer an occasion of honourable enterprise: by availing himself of the open hospitality and unguarded confidence of the unsuspecting old soldier, he saw that he might secure a bloodless triumph. In accordance with this dexterous project, he sent word to the old lord, "that he would come a-gossiping to him." The veteran was delighted at the prospect of a cheerful company, the feast was prepared, and the cordial welcome was not wanting. Sir Phelim came with frank smiles on his countenance, and ruthless perfidy in his breast. He was, according to the custom of the day, attended by a company of friends; and others of the same honourable stamp fell in in small parties during the evening. It was advanced in the evening, and the cup had gone its repeated rounds among those guests, whom it warmed with no generous feeling; when Sir Phelim saw the moment, and gave the signal by laying his hands on his astonished host. The unfortunate nobleman had not an instant to recover from his surprise, or to doubt whether it was a drunken frolic, or a rough impulse of rudeness, when he saw all the members of his family and household seized in like manner, by the ruffians among whom they were seated. Sir Phelim was not a man to soften a rough act by the gentleness of the execution; when the last restraints of honour and decency are thrown aside, the bad passions are summoned up to give the needful courage. The act of violence was accompanied by the most revolting indignity, and followed by the basest acts of meanness and atrocity. Sir Phelim ransacked the castle, and appropriated the valuable property of his victim. The victim was bound and shut up in close confinement for fifteen weeks. We must, however, follow him to his unworthy and unprovoked fate.

His soldiers had been secured by means similar to those we have related; and, with their officers, were either killed or imprisoned. We have no means of ascertaining their fate, but it may be conjectured from the following incident. After the earl had for upwards of four months lain in prison, with his mother, sisters, and brothers, Sir Phelim separated him from them, and sent them away to Killenane, the house of Laurence Netterville. The unhappy lord received this cruel deprivation, as the warning of danger, and showed no small earnestness to retain about his person some one on whom he might rely. Having entreated that Major Dory should be left with him, Sir Phelim answered, and the answer must have sounded strangely from his false tongue, that Major Dory was a traitor; but added the assurance that he should "have better company before night." Before night he was committed to the charge of Captain Neile, Modder O'Neile, and others of the same name and stamp, to convey him to Cloughouter castle. He was hurried off without delay; at night-fall the company and their prisoner reached Sir Phelim's own castle of Kinard. It was a place aptly chosen for the murder of one whose hospitality he had outraged. They were entering the hall door, where the victim had often entered as an honoured and welcome guest, when the concerted signal was spoken. Captain Neile M'Kenna of the Trough in Monaghan, who walked on one side of the baron, turned to Edmund Roy O'Hugh, Sir Phelim's foster-

brother, and said "where is your heart now?" O'Hugh answered the signal by discharging his gun into the back of the old man, who, receiving the contents, exclaimed, "Lord have mercy on me," and fell dead across the threshold of his betrayer. The crime was followed up by another as revolting. On the same night a number of Sir Phelim's own tenants and servants, who were English and Scotch, were massacred by the same abandoned band of ruffians. Among the murdered was a son of Sir Phelim's, whose mother was an Englishwoman.

This tragic incident took place 1st March, 1641. A curious story is told by Lodge or his commentator, from some old book. We shall add it here in the words of the teller. On the perfidious visit of Sir Phelim which we have just described, when the company were met, "The Butler, an old and trusty servant, remarked that the assassin with his accomplices and the noble family, made up the odd number of *thirteen*; and observed with dread and concern, that the murderers had often changed their seats and their countenances, with the exception of the bravo himself, who kept his place on the left hand of lord Caulfield as he was wont to do, being an intimate acquaintance. The butler took an opportunity, whilst they were at dinner, to acquaint his lady with the causes of his uneasiness; telling her that he dreaded some direful event. She rebuked his fears, told him he was superstitious, asked if the company were merry, and had every thing they wanted. He answered that he had done his duty; they all seemed very merry, and wanted nothing he knew of but grace; and since her ladyship was of opinion that his fears were groundless, he was resolved, through a natural impulse he felt, to take care of his own person. And thereupon instantly left the house, and made the best of his way to Dublin."*

Such was the first exploit of Sir Phelim O'Neile. On the same night many similar successes were obtained, but none by means so base. From Charlemont fort O'Neile proceeded to Dungannon, which he surprised and seized without any resistance; the castle of Mountjoy was surprised by one of his followers; Tanderage by O'Hanlon; Newry was betrayed to Sir Con Magennis; Roger Maguire, brother to lord Maguire, overran Fermanagh; lord Blaney's castle, in Monaghan, was surprised by the sept of MacMahon, and the lord with his family made prisoners by the MacMahons. In Cavan, the insurrection was headed by Mulmore O'Reily, sheriff of the county, and all the forts and castles seized by the *posse comitatus*, under the pretence of legal authority and the king's service. His example was followed by the sheriff of Longford. Insurrection had not as yet put forth its horrors, neither had its vindictive spirit been inflamed, nor the fanaticism which was to infuse its fiendish character at a further stage, as yet been called into action. It was as yet an insurrection of lords and gentlemen; nor is there any reason to believe, that any thing more was designed by these, than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favour of the church of Rome.

By these successes, Sir Phelim soon found himself at the head of an

* Lodge.

army of 30,000 men, and of ten counties. On the 5th of November, he took up his head quarters at Newry, and endeavoured to give a legal colour to his conduct, by the declaration, that he took up arms by the authority, and for the service of the king. To authenticate this pretension, he exhibited a parchment to which he had cunningly appended a great seal, which he contrived to obtain while at Charlemont fort, from a patent of lord Charlemont's. This fact was afterwards proved, both by the confession of Sir Phelim, and by the production of the very patent a few years after, in a lawsuit in Tyrone assizes, where the marks of the seal having been torn away, together with an indorsement to the same effect, confirmed this statement.*

In the mean time, no measures of a sufficiently decisive nature were taken against the rebels. The lords-justices appear to have been infatuated by some fallacious security, and perhaps were diverted from a sense of their danger by interested speculations of the future consequences of rebellion. Such speculations are, indeed, but too likely to have arisen; for it was only the after events of the long civil wars in England, that prevented the rebellion of 1641 from following the ordinary course of former rebellions. But so far were the lords-justices from manifesting any true sense of the emergent position of events, that they not only acted remissly themselves, but interposed to prevent the activity and courage of such noblemen and gentry of the pale as were inclined to arm in their own defence. The earl of Ormonde volunteered his service, and pressed earnestly to be allowed to lead whatever men they could spare him against the rebels. This was not acceded to; and the lords-justices, pressed by the remonstrances of every loyal tongue, contented themselves by sending a regiment to the relief of Drogheda, which was then besieged by 4000 rebels.

The English parliament was still less desirous of giving peace to Ireland. The rebellion favoured their views, and could, they knew, be suppressed whenever it suited their own purposes to send an army into the country. It gave them, however, a pretext for the levy of men and money to be employed against the king, and of this they availed themselves largely.

The pale, and the protestant nobility and gentry, were thus left to their own courage and means of resistance. They quickly threw off their fears and their false security, and took up arms in their own defence. Their resolution and energy, however great, were in some measure paralyzed by the uncertain conduct of the king, and by the false pretences of the rebel leaders, who assumed his name and authority. Yet they began to fortify their castles and to defend the towns, and the progress of the rebels began to be more difficult, and to be interrupted by numerous checks and disappointments.

Sir Phelim and his associate conspirators had been raising a strong force against themselves; the fugitives which their first successes had rolled together into Carrickfergus, were embodied and armed into a force, which, if inferior in numbers to the rebels, was far superior in moral force and discipline. From these colonel Chichester garrisoned

* Carte.

Carrickfergus, Derry, Belfast, and other principal places of strength. A reinforcement of 1500 men from Scotland gave added force to the whole. Sir Phelim's people were defeated in many places. He was himself repelled with slaughter from before the walls of castle Derrick, in the county of Tyrone, and fled to his camp at Newry, in mortification and disgrace.

From this, Sir Phelim's conduct is to be distinguished for its violence and cruelty. Some historians attribute the murders committed by his order, to a design to secure the fidelity of his people, by dipping them in guilt beyond the expectation of forgiveness. The love of plunder had brought the common people to his standard, and he very well understood that there was no other motive so likely to preserve their fidelity, as the desperation of crime beyond the hope of mercy. By some this counsel has been imputed to Ever MacMahon, one of his followers, and titular bishop of Down, on the authority of a deposition of a Mr Simpson of Glaslogh. But with Carte, we are inclined to attribute the crimes of this person to the evil passions of his nature, upon the strong ground, that they appear to have chiefly followed upon occasions of ill success. On such occasions where his followers met with a check—when any thing in the camp caused irritation, and sometimes when he was drunk, it was usual for him to be seized with a violent fit of rage bordering upon phrenzy, during which he frequently gave orders for the murder of his prisoners. Some of these ruffian-like acts are enumerated by Carte, and we shall give them in his language. "In some of these frantic fits, he caused Mr Richard Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden, and the old lord Charlemont to be shot; in another, when the rebels were repulsed in the attack of the castle of Augher, and several of the sept of the O'Neiles slain, he ordered Mulmory MacDonell, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilley, and Kileluney; in another, when he heard of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he went in the beginning of May, in all haste, to Armagh, and in breach of his own promise under his own hand and seal, at the capitulation, murdered a hundred persons in the place, burnt the town and the cathedral church—a venerable and ancient structure said to be built by St Patrick, and called by a name revered enough among the Irish, to have been an effectual protection to a place dedicated to his honour—and fired all the villages and houses of the neighbourhood, and murdered many of all ages and sexes, as well in the town as in the country round about."

From this, all pretence to humanity was at an end: once adopted there is no end to cruelty. It will be justified by the assertion of its justice, and will be maintained by the furious passions of men dipped in lawless murder. The rebel soldier was not slow to catch the spirit of his chief, and to glory in atrocities which came recommended by a sanction he could not but respect. Even cows and sheep were tortured for being English, and were not saved by the growing necessity which they might have been used to supply. "Cruel and bloody measures," writes Carte, "seldom prosper:" from the commencement of this course of cruel conduct, Sir Phelim's successes were at an end.

Whatever may be the value of Mr Carte's maxim, it seems quite reconcilable to every thing we know of the laws of human nature; an army steeped in crimes, which demand the help of the worst passions of man for their perpetration, cannot be the fit organ of moral discipline; it can have no calm energy, no sense of honour, or of an honourable, high, or holy cause. Some savage state can, it is true, be conceived, debased by a faith, atrocious by some fell rule of wrong; there may be hordes who worship the powers of evil, and are bound by fanaticism of some black and hell-born hue. The Christian, however misled, is taught to act on other grounds; even his illusions preserve the name of a holy cause; his crimes are in the defiance of his conscience, and his creed: the plundering and the licentious butcheries only sanctioned by cupidity—revenge, and the blood-thirsty excitement of an uncontrolled rabble, the most dangerous and disgraceful phenomenon in the known compass of things, could never be consistent with the moral discipline which is the best strength of armies. The army of Sir Phelim, terrible henceforth to the defenceless, were chaff before the smallest force that could be brought into contact with them. The rabble who followed him, expressed their designs in language, which requires no commentary. They declared that "they would not leave an English man in the country; that they would have no English king, but one of their own nation, and Sir Phelim O'Neile should be their king, . . . that if they had his majesty in their power, they would flay him alive," &c. Such were the frantic professions of this vile mob, as has been proved from several depositions, perused by Carte.

Among the grievous consequences of these excesses, one was, that they called forth some lamentable instances of retaliation. Among the English and Scotch a horror of the Irish spread to every rank; the report of such barbarities appeared to degrade the perpetrators below the level of human nature. They also excited the worst passions among the inferior classes of the opposite party. The Scotch garrison at Carrickfergus, possessed both by their habitual hatred to popery, and inflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated not only by the sufferers, but by those wretches who boasted and magnified their own barbarities. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district, called Island Magee, where a number of poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted by the rebellion. Here, according to the statement of a leader in this party, they massacred thirty poor families. This incident has been, as might be expected, misstated in all its particulars, both as to the number of the sufferers and the date of the occurrence. Leland, by far the most accurate and scrupulous writer on our history, ascertains the true particulars from the MS. "depositions of the county of Antrim," preserved in the College Library; and states, that instead of happening in November, this incident took place in the beginning of the following January, when the followers of Sir Phelim "had almost exhausted their barbarous malice."* We should add, that Carte cannot, as Leland

* Leland, iii. 128.

thinks, he properly said to favour the assertion, that this massacre took place in November: without entering on the question as to its date, he quotes the assertion from a book entitled, *The Politician's Catechism*, in order to show from numerous facts, that it was not "the first massacre in Ireland, on either side,"* and on this Mr Carte is quite conclusive. We also think it fair to state, that one historical writer, whom we have consulted, questions the accuracy of Leland's investigation of the college MS.; but from the uniform tone of acrid misrepresentation in which this writer deals, we have not thought fit to adduce an opinion which we should be compelled to investigate at a very disproportioned length. The importance of the point has been overstated in the heat of party recrimination. When crimes on either side must be admitted, priority is of little importance; it cannot justify those who cannot be justified, but by the denial of every principle of right and wrong.

As we have observed, the moral effect of these atrocities was fatal to the army of Sir Phelim. They soon became only formidable to the unarmed and helpless. The horror diffused by their crimes, armed against them many who would willingly have remained inert, and drew from the Irish government, the English parliament, and the protestant gentry, efforts of opposition and resistance which soon effectually checked their advances. Of the wide spread scene of waste, disorder and danger amounting to the disruption of society, of which such a state of things was productive, an ample and striking description is contained in Borlase's account. Every private house seems to have been something in the condition of a besieged fortress—and a scene of protracted terror and watchfulness, or of heroic courage and constancy. "Great were the straits many of them were put unto, enduring all manner of extremities, subjecting themselves to all kind of dangers; not daunted with the multitude of rebels that lay about them, they in many places issued out, and lived only on the spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily bread, which they never wanted, so long as their enemies had it. The rebels were so undexterous in the management of their sieges, that they took very few places by force; in all their attempts, whether by mine, battery, or assault, they seldom prospered. The great engine by which they mastered any fort of the English was treachery; offers of safe conduct, and other conditions of honour and advantage, which might induce the besieged, sometimes reduced to the utmost extremities, to surrender their places into their hand; which though so solemnly sworn and signed, yet they seldom or never kept."† We forbear entering into the sanguinary recital of these flagrant atrocities, which we should be too glad to have it in our power to reject as the monsters of exaggeration and fear, but which are given upon the authority of depositions, that there is no fair ground for rejecting. Much of the sanguinary spirit manifested by the followers of the rebel chiefs is to be attributed to the irritating consciousness of failure, and the protracted resistance which they so often had to encounter, from seemingly inadequate opponents.

* Carte, i. 76, 77.

† Borlase.

It was in the month of December, 1641, that the rebels, encouraged more by the absence of any hostile demonstrations on the government side than by any successes of their own, came before Drogheda. They had neither the necessary materials for a siege, nor even for an encampment; and, therefore, they were compelled to take their quarters in the surrounding villages, and thus became more formidable to private persons living in the surrounding district than to the city; which was not, however, exempt either from danger or suffering. The numbers of the rebel army amounted to nearly twenty thousand, and they were thus enabled to blockade every avenue, and completely to intercept all supplies. Ill provided for a siege, the governor had still nearer ground for apprehension from the traitors who were suspected to be within his walls. On the night of December 20, the rebels attempted to surprise the city by a sudden and general assault, but were driven back with so much loss that they did not think it advisable to renew the attempt. They were, however, fully aware of the unprepared condition of the city, and the wants of the garrison; and having every reason to hope that they would meet with no interruption from abroad, they expected to obtain possession by starving the garrison.

Within, the condition of affairs was indeed low enough to warrant such expectations. The English became diseased from the effects of an unaccustomed and scanty diet, and were daily losing their strength and spirits: from this state of want and suffering many escaped over the walls. The officers wrote a letter to the duke of Ormonde, in the hope that the exertion of his influence might extract some relief from the supineness of the state. About the 11th of January, 1642, the lords-justices sent a scanty and poor supply of food and ammunition, saying that they were unwilling to send more until it should appear that the present supply could obtain entrance. The way was undoubtedly difficult, the entrance to the harbour being narrow, and obstructed by the precaution of the rebels, who had sunk a small vessel in the channel, and drawn a strong chain across from two large ships on either side. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the small and shallow vessels which brought the supply were enabled to pass over the chain, as well as a bar of sand, which, it was conceived, must have obstructed their entrance at low water.

The joy of the garrison at a relief so seasonable was nearly the cause of their ruin: indulging in a premature sense of security, their vigilance became relaxed as their fear abated. The governor, who did not participate in the forgetfulness of the occasion, saw the danger, and took strict care to have the guards visited more frequently during the night; but this did not prevent their sleeping on their posts, for they had been worn by toil and privation, and were, it may be assumed, oppressed with unwonted indulgence, and lulled by false security. Treason, too, had been at work. Sir Phelim had managed to secure an understanding with some of the inhabitants; and in the still hour of darkness, when all appeared to favour the unnoticed approach of an enemy, an old door-way, which had been walled up, was broken open, and admitted five hundred men picked from all the

companies of the rebel army without. The city lay in silence. The garrison and the people were asleep, and the guards, half asleep, did not look beyond their own immediate watches; all things favoured the attempt, and for half an hour Drogheda was in possession of the enemy. But their conduct was not answerable to the occasion, and was such as to indicate clearly the true character of Sir Phelim's army. There was nothing to prevent their seizing on a gate and admitting Sir Phelim and his forces; they could, without resistance, have seized the artillery on Millmount by which the town was commanded; the garrison could have offered but slight resistance while unprepared. But they never seem to have thought of any course of action; they trusted, probably, as all mobs will ever trust, to the fallacious confidence of numerical force, and supposed themselves to be in possession of the town because they had got in. Their triumph was however unsatisfactory, until it should be made known to their enemies within, and their friends abroad: it was evident that something was wanting to their dark and unknown victory. They manifested their possession of the town by a tremendous shout, which carried astonishment and alarm to every quarter of the town: the sentinels started to their posts, and the little garrison was roused from its dangerous slumber. Sir Henry Tichburne, hearing the rebel cheer, rushed out without waiting to arm, and caused a drum to beat to arms. Heading his own company, which chanced to be the main guard, he advanced to meet the rebel force, and falling in with them quickly, a short struggle took place, in which the rebels, though more numerous by six to one, and also picked men, had the disadvantage in arms and discipline, and were soon forced to retreat in confusion: in the mean time the governor had collected a party of musqueteers, and coming up while the rebels were in this state, by a volley of shot converted their disorder into a precipitate flight. They scattered several ways. About two hundred escaped by the concealed breach at which they had entered, many found concealment in private houses, two hundred fell in the streets. Of the English only three fell in the fight; a few were found slain in different quarters where they had been surprised or turned upon by the flying rebels. Another attempt of the same kind was made on the following night. It may be presumed that it was designed to avoid the errors of that which we have here related; but the vigilance of the garrison had been too well alarmed, and the enemy was beaten off with some loss.

The supply was insufficient, and the garrison of Drogheda soon fell into a condition of the utmost distress. Famine, and its sure attendant disease, more formidable than the enemy, took possession of the town; the men were enfeebled, their numbers thinned by fluxes and other complaints, and they were forced to live on horses, dogs, cats, and every loathsome resource of utter extremity. Sir Phelim saw their condition, and reckoned upon it not unreasonably: he saw that if he could collect a sufficient force, and obtain cannon to batter the walls, that the garrison were little likely to offer any effective resistance. With this view, he left his army and hurried away to the north, promising to return in eight days with eight cannon and a strong reinforcement—

a step which makes it very apparent to how great an extent the remissness of the government had become a matter of calculation.

Tichburne, on his part, was fully aware of his danger, and armed himself with heroic resolution. He sent captain Cadogan to Dublin to solicit the needful reinforcements and supplies; and expressed his resolution to hold the town against the enemy while the last morsel of horse-flesh remained, and then to cut his way to Dublin. In the interim he sent out small parties to endeavour to obtain whatever provisions could be thus found, within a short distance of the town. There were in consequence numerous skirmishes with the Irish, in which it was presently ascertained that their resistance was so little formidable, that Tichburne felt he might take more decided steps to supply the wants of his famishing garrison. He sent captain Trevor to a place four miles off, where he had been informed that there were eighty cows and two hundred sheep: the party was successful, and drove this fortunate acquisition without any resistance into the town, where they had for some weeks been without any wholesome aliment. They were thus enabled to hold out for several days; when, on the 20th of February, several ships appeared in the river, containing provisions and troops for their relief. Their approach had been guarded against by the precautions of the Irish army, who had, in the mean time, strengthened the impediments which had failed to obstruct the former supply. But the day before, a storm had broken the chain, and the sunken vessel had drifted away with the force of the impeded current; there was a spring-tide, and the winds, for many days contrary, had shifted in their favour, and blew fair from the south-east. The transport thus carried on by the combined advantage of wind and tide, passed rapidly from the fire which the Irish kept up, and entered the harbour with the loss of two killed and fourteen wounded. They brought a good supply of provision, and four companies of men.

It so fell out that Sir Phelim returned the same day; he brought two guns and seven hundred men. And disregarding every lesson which the previous incidents of the siege should have taught, he determined upon an assault. It was his plan to carry the walls by escalade, and in this absurd attempt his people were repulsed with such loss as to bring his army into entire contempt. Tichburne, who had hitherto rated his enemy above their real worth, having been all through deceived by numerical disparity, now determined to be no longer the defensive party. After this occurrence, he sallied forth every day with strong parties and looked for the enemy, whom, when found, he always dispersed with ease, so that a few days were sufficient to satisfy the Irish that they could only be cut to pieces in detail by remaining any longer, and they collected their force and marched away on the 5th of March.

Thus ended Sir Phelim's attempt for the capture of Drogheda. We have here related the incidents of this siege with more detail than its importance may appear to deserve, because they are illustrative of the comparative character of the forces employed on either side. It is curious to notice for how long a time their numerical disparity continued to impose on both; and it is evident that the events

which terminated the siege might have equally prevented its commencement, had Tichburne been aware of the true character of the enemy with whom he had to deal.

In the mean time Sir Phelim had been proclaimed a traitor: the ships, of which we have just mentioned the arrival, had brought copies of proclamations offering rewards for his head and that of several others; these were posted in the market-place. He now turned towards the north, the greater part of his army having scattered, and many of his friends being prisoners. A council of war, held by the duke of Ormonde, agreed in the expediency of following up these favourable occurrences with a considerable force now at their command; but the step was countermanded by the lords-justices, who seem to have thought more of goading the lords of the pale to desperation, than of terminating a rebellion to which they seemed to have entertained no objection, unless at intervals when it appeared to menace the existence of their own authority. The duke of Ormonde sent notice to lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne of the constraint which had been imposed upon his movements, and these gentlemen expressed their astonishment, and "could not possibly conceive what motives could induce the lords-justices to send such orders." They sent a messenger to Dundalk, towards which town Sir Phelim had sent his cannon. This messenger brought back word, "that Sir Phelim O'Neile, and colonel Plunket, had been the day before at that place, and had got together about five hundred men; that they would fain have led them out towards Drogheda, but the men did not care to march; that with great difficulty, and after hanging two of the number, they at last got them out of the town, but as soon as the men found themselves out of the place, and at liberty, they threw down their arms and ran all away; that towards night Sir Phelim himself went away with Plunket, and left three field pieces behind him; and that there were not three gentlemen of quality left in the county of Louth."*

The report of the earl of Ormonde's approach had been sufficient to scatter the rebel force about Atherdee and Dundalk. His recall renewed their courage, and hearing the circumstance, they rallied their forces and resumed the posts they had abandoned. Lord Moore and Tichburne, after reducing the environs of Drogheda as well as their means admitted, directed their march towards Atherdee. About a mile from this town they came in collision with a strong party of nearly two thousand rebels, which they routed without suffering any loss; and, proceeding on their way, occupied the town. Having garrisoned a castle in the vicinity with one hundred and fifty men, to awe the county of Louth, they pursued their march to Dundalk, which Sir Phelim held with a force of eight hundred strong. Sir Henry Tichburne assaulted this town, and carried it by storm with the loss of only eighteen men. Sir Phelim escaped in the dusk of evening.

The state of the Ulster rebels was now become a case of desperation. The town of Newry had been taken by lord Conway, and a

* Carte's Ormonde, I. p. 288.

strong force of Scotch, under Munroe, which had been landed at Carrickfergus. Their encounters with the English troops had been little calculated to raise their hopes; they had received no assistance from Spain, and their means were reduced to the lowest. In the month of April, it is mentioned, Sir Phelim had not in his possession more than "one firkin and a half of powder left;" the people sent in petitions to be taken to mercy, and their leaders prepared to fly the country. Sir Phelim fled from Armagh, which he burned, to Dungannon, and from Dungannon to Charlemont, while his followers left him and scattered among the passes of Tyrone.

But Munroe had other views, or was not equal to the occasion. Prompt, stern, and peremptory in the assertion of a military control over all persons and places which were not able to resist, he seems to have been deficient in the most obvious and ordinary operations which his position in the face of an insurgent province required. With an army of two thousand five hundred brave and hardy soldiers he continued inert for two months, until Sir Phelim, who was not deficient in activity, once more contrived to rally his scattered friends and soldiers, and made his reappearance in arms. He was joined by Alexander MacDonell, known by the name of Colkitto, and a numerous force collected from Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, together with no inconsiderable remains of his former army. Relying upon this formidable body, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, he marched to attack Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, June 16. The action was better maintained than usual by the Irish, but in spite of their numbers and personal bravery, they were at length routed with a heavy loss.

It was at this period of the rebellion that colonel Owen O'Neill landed in Donegal with a large supply of arms and ammunition, and what was more wanting, officers and soldiers, and thus gave a very important impulse to the subsiding agitation; his arrival was no less efficient in impairing the authority of Sir Phelim, who had till this event been the chief military leader of the insurrection.

From this, a detail of the further events in which Sir Phelim was in any way a party, would lead us into notices which can be more appropriately pursued further on. He was excluded from any leading station by the distribution of the provinces to other commanders, but long continued to maintain a doubtful importance in the rebel councils, more from the influence of his father-in-law, general Preston, than from his own personal influence.

In 1652 he was tried for his life before the commission issued in Dublin, by the Commonwealth, for the trial of the offenders during the rebellion, and his end is more to his honour than any action of his previous life. He received an intimation that a pardon should be the reward of his evidence to prove that king Charles I. had authorised him to levy forces against his government in Ireland. Sir Phelim refused to save himself by a declaration so unwarranted and scandalous. He was accordingly tried and executed for the massacres committed by his authority in 1641.

Our next memoir is that of a partizan on the other side.

SIR CHARLES COOTE.

SLAIN A.D. 1642.

SIR CHARLES COOTE was descended from a French family of the same name; his ancestor, Sir John Coote, settled in Devonshire. The brave leader whom we have here to notice, came into Ireland at an early age. He served under Mountjoy, in the war against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and was present at the siege of Kinsale, when he is said by Lodge to have commanded a company: the latter fact we doubt, as his name does not occur among the lists of captains, which Moryson gives; yet it seems to derive some confirmation from the fact of his having been appointed provost marshal of Connaught, by king James, in consideration of his services to queen Elizabeth. The appointment we should observe was but reversionary, and to take effect on the death of captain Waynman, who held the office at the time.

We must pass lightly over the incidents of a long period of Coote's life, which have no sufficient interest for detail. In 1613 he was made receiver of the king's composition-money in Connaught; 1616 he received the honour of knighthood, and the next year had a grant of a Saturday market and two fairs, on the festivals of St James and St Martin, at Fuerty near the town of Roscommon. In 1620 he was vice-president of Connaught; and was sworn of the privy council. In 1621 he was created a baronet of Ireland.* In addition it may be generally stated, that he had received large grants in different counties, and was much employed in various magisterial offices, of which the enumeration and the dates are to be found in all the peerage lists.

He was a colonel of foot in 1640. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he was one of the earliest and most considerable sufferers. His linen works in Monrath were pillaged, and the entire of his property in that town was destroyed in December 1641. In the Queen's County, in Cavan, in Leitrim, and Sligo, his property every where met the same treatment, to the amount of many thousand pounds; and his estates were so injured as to remain nearly unprofitable till the end of the rebellion.

In 1641 he obtained a commission to raise a thousand men, which he speedily effected. It was during the investment of Drogheda, by a rebel army under Sir Phelim O'Neile, (as related in his life) that the lords-justices, alarmed by the near approach of rebellion in the border county of Wicklow, were compelled to cast aside their inefficiency for a moment; they detached Coote with a small party to the relief of the castle of Wicklow. Coote was no unwilling instrument: he was a man of that rough, stern, and inflammable temper which is easily wrought to fierce and extreme courses by the impatience of resentment. Had he met with no personal injuries, his fiery temper would have been sufficiently excited by his intolerance of disloyalty; but as always must happen, his own wrongs lent animosity to

* Lodge.

the natural indignation of the stern partisan, and his vindictive feelings were disguised under the pretext of a general cause, and the name of just retribution; for by this time the fiendlike atrocities of Sir Phelim O'Neile had excited general terror and pity. With his own implacable resentment burning in his heart, Sir Charles marched to avenge the victims of O'Neile's cruelty, and to strike terror into the rising spirit of insurrection.

The rebels had some days before surprised Cary's fort, Arklow and Chichester forts—had besieged the houses of all the English gentry in the surrounding country, and had committed great slaughter upon the inhabitants—and were actually on their march to Dublin. At the approach of Coote, they retired and scattered among the Wicklow mountains. He pursued his march to Wicklow, the rebels possessed the town and had invested the castle, which was in a condition of extreme distress. They did not wait to be attacked, but retired on the appearance of the English soldiers. Coote entered the town and caused numerous persons to be seized and executed as rebels; his party also had caught the angry spirit of their leader, and numerous acts of violence occurred. Historians of every party have agreed in their representations of this transaction, and it has left a stain on the memory of Coote. This we cannot pretend to efface; we are not inclined to make any concession to the exaggerations of the party historians on either side, but we equally revolt from the affectation of candour which compromises the truth, for the sake of preserving the appearance of fairness. Coote has been the scape-goat of impartiality. Leland, who is in general truth itself, in his historic details, and more free from bias than any historian of Ireland, mentions his conduct in terms of denunciation—which we should not advert to did they not involve some injustice. The following is Leland's statement: "this man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow which they had invested; he executed his commission, repelled the Irish to their mountains, and in revenge of their depredations committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the northerns. This wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation."

We perfectly agree with those who consider that no personal resentments, or no crimes committed by other rebels elsewhere, can be called a justification of the cruelties inflicted upon the people of Wicklow, if it be assumed that they were not involved in the offence. And even if they were, we must admit that the conduct of Coote was violent, sanguinary, and beyond the limits of justice and discretion; it was unquestionably vindictive, perhaps also (for we have not seen any minute detail) brutal and savage. But we are bound to repel the affirmation that it was *unprovoked*, and the assumption that the sufferers were unoffending persons executed to gratify private revenge. We cannot suffer even Sir Charles Coote to be painted in gratuitous blackness, to balance Sir Phelim O'Neile in the scale of candour. Wicklow town was at the time a nest of rebellion, and the retreat of every

discontented spirit in Leinster. The oppression and rapine of the iniquitous castle-party, the agents and dependents of the lords-justices, had filled the strong tribes of the Byrnes, the Kavanaghs, the Tooles, and all who lived in their circle with well-grounded hostility; and few at the time in the town of Wicklow were free from liability to suspicion. To what extent Coote received informations, true or false, on which he acted in the heat of the moment, cannot be ascertained; that such must have been numerous and grounded on the facts is not to be doubted. It was Coote's notion that the exigency of the crisis (for such it then appeared) demanded the display of severe and exemplary justice; we differ from this opinion, but see no reason to call it worse than error. He therefore resolved on a stern duty, which would, under the circumstances, have been revolting to a humane spirit; but which harmonized well with the "*sæva indignatio*" of Coote. That he "committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the Northerns" is a statement that yet requires to be proved: we deny the charge.

The defeat of the English at Julianstown bridge carried consternation to the government and inhabitants of Dublin. Coote was recalled from Wicklow to defend the metropolis; he obeyed the order. He had approached with his party within a few miles of Dublin, when his march was intercepted by Luke Toole, with a force generally supposed to amount to a thousand men. Coote's men amounted at most to four hundred, but the rebels were routed so quickly and with such slaughter that it is said, this incident made Coote an object of terror during the remainder of his life. He then resumed his march and was made governor of Dublin. He endeavoured to secure the city, a task attended with no small embarrassment, as the fortifications were in a state of utter dilapidation; the city wall had fallen into ruin, and having been built four hundred years before, was ill adapted to the altered state of military resources.

While thus engaged, Coote was frequently called out into the surrounding districts, to repel incursions or repress manifestations of insurrection. On these occasions he was uniformly effective, but acted, there is reason to believe, with the fierce and thorough-working decision of his character. On the 15th of December he was called out by the report that three hundred armed men had plundered a vessel from England at Clontarf, and deposited their plunder in the house of Mr King, where they took up their quarters. For some time before, there had been a considerable disposition to insurrectionary movement along the whole coast, from Clontarf to the county of Meath. Plunder and piracy had become frequent under the relaxation of local jurisdiction, consequent upon the general terror; and the fears of the government at last awakened them to a sense of the necessity of guarding against so near a danger. Several of the gentry also of these districts had committed themselves by acts of no doubtful character; and it was with their known sanction that strong parties of armed men were collected in Clontarf, Santry, Swords, Rathcoole, &c.: these parties committed numerous acts of violence and overawed the peaceful, while

they gave encouragement to the turbulent. The party here particularized was evidently under the sanction of Mr King, a gentleman of the popular party, in whose house they stored their plunder; they were in strict combination with the people of Clontarf, who had actually formed a part of their strength and joined them with their fishing boats. We mention these facts because the summary statement that Sir C. Coote expelled them from Clontarf, by burning both Mr King's house and the village, must otherwise place the act in a fallacious point of view. Coote acted in this as on every occasion with the sweeping severity of his harsh character; but the unpopularity of his character, and of the lords-justices to whom he was as an arm of defence, seems to have diverted the eye of history from the obvious fact, that in this, as upon many other occasions, he did no more than the emergency of the occasion called for.

It was but a few days after that he was compelled to march to the relief of Swords, which was occupied by 1400 men. They harricaded all the entrances. Coote forced these passages, and routed them with a slaughter of 200 men.

The known violence of Coote, while it made him the instrument of the government in many questionable acts and many acts of decided injustice, also exposed him to much calumny, the certain reward of unpopularity. Among other things, a report was spread, that he had at the council board expressed his opinion for a general massacre of the Roman catholics; this report was alleged as an excuse by the lords of that communion for refusing to trust themselves into the hands of the Irish government.* These noblemen had unquestionably real grounds for their distrust of the lords-justices, and thought it necessary to find some pretext for the prudent refusal. But they could not seriously have entertained a motion so revolting. The pretext, though perhaps too frivolous for the persons who used it, was, nevertheless, highly adapted for the further purpose of working upon the fear and anger of the multitude; who can be ignorant, that however self-interest and vicious passions may warp the hearts and understandings of the upper ranks, there is too much knowledge of right and wrong among them to permit of so open an outrage to humanity, among persons pretending to the dignity of the lords-justices and council. It is very likely that Coote, who was a rude soldier and an irritable man, used language which, used by a person of more sedateness of temper, would have borne a harsh construction; but we see no reason to admit that he either contemplated the crime described, or that any one present could have reasonably so reported his language. The lords-justices in reply to the letter of the lords of the pale, assured them that they never "did hear Sir Charles or any other, utter at the council board or elsewhere, any speeches tending to a purpose or resolution, to execute on those of their profession, or any other, a general massacre; nor was it ever in their thoughts to dishonour his Majesty or the state by so odious, impious, and detestable a

* Letter signed Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netherville, Oliver, Louth, Trimleston.

thing. Giving them assurance of their safety if they would repair thither, the 17th of that month.”*

With such a reputation for violence and cruelty, it was unfortunate for Sir Charles Coote and for the country, that as military governor of the city, it devolved to him to try the prisoners then under the charge of rebellion in Dublin. He was an unfit instrument, and had neither the prudence nor temper for so delicate an occasion. To make the matter worse, it remains at best doubtful, whether the occasion demanded the substitution of martial law for the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts. The ground assigned was the great accumulation of prisoners, and the impossibility of obtaining juries from the counties where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. Carte remarks on this, that they had juries from Meath, Wicklow, and Kildare, as well as from Dublin; and according to his statement of their conduct, we think it may be doubted whether the parties tried before them gained much by the preservation of form; for Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, “within two days afterwards, bills of high treason were found against all the lords and prime gentlemen, as also against three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare: among which were the old countess of Kildare, Sir Nicholas White, his son, captain White, who had never joined the rebels—so much expedition was used in this affair.”† To preserve the escheats of property, which had always a due share of consideration with the government, the persons of property were exempted from martial law, and it was easy to find juries to the extent required. The poor were ordered to be tried by the more expeditious and summary method. But we must here remark, that the *injustice* is not the real ground of objection to this course. The main part of the prisoners had been taken in arms, and at any time would have been amenable to martial law: but the act was cruel and imprudent, for the wholesale and summary conviction of a multitude of deluded peasants could answer no end. If it was not vindictive, which we cannot believe, it is chiefly to be censured as a shallow mistake: when the cruelty of punishment is more revolting than its justice is apparent, the indignation and sympathy of the multitude takes the place of submission and fear. The instrumentality of one so feared and so unpopular as Coote, cast an added shade of darkness upon this measure. Among the persons thus tried were several Roman catholic priests; and from this the exasperation of the populace was the more to be apprehended. These gentlemen were very generally accused of exciting the people to rebellion: how far such an accusation could be rigidly maintained, we cannot decide, but it is easy to feel the unhappy embarrassment under which such cases would be likely to present themselves to the feelings of a just and humane jury; for in very many such instances, where the priest has been the leader, his entire conduct has been directed to soften the horrors of rebellion, and to save its victims. The history of “ninety-eight” supplies examples enough. But father O’Higgins, the victim of 1641, was a “quiet, inoffensive, and pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who

* Borlase.

† Carte, I. 278, note.

officiated at Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English in those parts from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The earl of Ormonde found him at Naas, took him under his protection, (he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion,) and brought him along with him to Dublin.* Some time after, while lord Ormonde was absent from town, the proceedings here described commenced, and the unfortunate O'Higgins was seized, condemned, and executed. This shameful act was near drawing on Coote the punishment which his inconsiderate violence deserved. The earl of Ormonde, who was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was indignant when he heard of the fate of his protégé, and immediately insisted on the trial of Coote, as an offender against the laws of the land. The lords-justices were unwilling to give up the man on whose military talent and bravery they chiefly rested their trust, and who, they were conscious, was but their instrument in a station of the duties of which he was wholly ignorant. The earl of Ormonde expostulated with them in vain, and even threatened to throw up his office: they apologized, and temporized, and invented lame excuses, until it was plain that they were not to be persuaded by threats or entreaties: and Coote escaped. But the act which was thus made additionally notorious, produced a pernicious effect among the Roman catholic aristocracy and gentry, whose fears it appeared strongly to confirm.†

The next affair of any importance in which Coote is found engaged, occurred on the 3d February, when he accompanied the earl of Ormonde to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin, against a strong army of rebels whom they drove from their entrenchments and routed completely: the particulars belong to our memoir of the earl of Ormonde.

In the beginning of March the earl of Ormonde left Dublin, to march against the rebels in the county of Kildare. During his march, detachments were sent out on various services, under the chief officers of his army. On the 10th April, Coote was sent with six troops of horse to the relief of Birr. On the way they came to a causeway which the rebels had broken up and fortified with a trench, which they occupied. The post was formidable, and the passage appeared quite impracticable to persons of ordinary nerve: Coote here nobly maintained his known character for decision and unflinching intrepidity, alighting from his horse, he selected forty of his troopers, with whom he proceeded on foot against the rebels. The smallness of his party threw them in some degree off their guard: they scorned to take the full advantages of their wooded and entrenched position against forty dismounted troops: but these troopers were soldiers, led by an officer of first rate proof

* Carte.

† It is here but just to state, that there were other causes likely to produce the same effect. The excesses of the rebels had by this time amounted to a frightful sum. The list of murders through the country was not less than 154,000 between the 23d October, 1642, and March, 1643.—*Dr Maxwell's Examination.*

and the coolest hardihood, whose presence doubled every man's strength. Without the loss of a single man, Coote and his brave party slew the captain of the rebels, with forty of his men: went on and relieved Birr, Borris, and Knocknamease, and after forty-eight hours' incessant riding and fighting, returned to the camp. "This," writes Cox, "was the prodigious passage through Montrath woods, which is indeed wonderful in many respects." From this adventure, the title of earl of Montrath was conferred afterwards on his son.

He was also soon after distinguished at the battle of Kilrush, between the forces under the earl of Ormonde, and the rebels commanded by the lord Mountgarret. There Coote led the foot, and had no small share in the signal victory of that day. We shall hereafter relate it at length.

Some time after, he joined lord Lisle, to relieve the castle of Geashill, where the lady Letitia Offaley had for some time been besieged by the rebels. This noble lady, a Geraldine, and grand-daughter of the earl of Kildare, though in her 64th year, shut her gates against the rebels, and, with the bravery of her race, prepared to defend her castle. She was summoned to surrender, with a threat from the rebels that, upon her refusal, they would burn the town, and massacre man, woman, and child. To this dastardly menace, the heroic lady replied, that she had always lived among them as a good neighbour and a loyal subject: that she would die innocently as she had lived, and if necessary, would endeavour to defend her town. Being however influenced by the humanity natural to her sex and rank, she remained on the defensive, and the rebels who were still collecting, might in the end have added another illustrious victim to the murders of this fatal year, when happily the party of lord Lisle and Coote came up, and relieved her from her peril.

The next place to be relieved was Philipstown. On this occasion a characteristic story is told of Coote. Having to march for that purpose through a difficult and dangerous country, the general called a council. The difficulties being strongly pressed, Coote, who was not of a temper to admit of difficulties, observed, that "if they made haste, they might easily pass the defiles and causeways before the enemy could get together to oppose them." This was admitted, but the question next proposed was, "how they should get back?" "I protest," answered Coote, "I never thought of that in my life; I always have considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way."

The advice was taken, and the result thoroughly successful; but the time had come when Coote was himself to be deserted by his usual good fortune. They took Philipstown, and pursued their way to Trim, where a large party of rebels had drawn together. On their approach the rebels retired, and they took possession of the town. Lord Lisle immediately took his departure to Dublin to procure sufficient men to leave a garrison in the town. Night drew on, and all seemed still until midnight, when the rebels, to the number of three thousand, returned to attack the wearied party of troopers, who little expected such

an interruption to their well-earned rest. Coote was too watchful to be caught asleep. On receiving the alarm from his sentinel, he collected seventeen troopers, and rushed out to take possession of the gate. Thus he was enabled to secure a retreat for his party, who quickly came up. They then issued from the gate, and charging the disorderly crowd, at once put them to flight in every direction. But a shot either from the flying crowd, or from the town, or as some historians appear to conjecture, from his own party, killed Sir Charles Coote. This event occurred 7th May, 1642. The next day his body was sent to Dublin, under a strong guard.

In continuing the account of the phases of this first stage of the great rebellion, we pass to introduce, in a notice of a descendant of one of the most famous hero families of the conquest, its aspects in the distant province of Connaught.

MILES BOURKE, VISCOUNT MAYO.

DIED A. D. 1649.

OF the ancestral history of the family of Burke, Bourke, and de Burgo, common variations of the same illustrious name, we have said enough in these pages. The nobleman whom we are here to notice was the representative of the MacOughter branch. It is known to the reader, that near the middle of the 14th century, William de Burgo, earl of Ulster, was assassinated by his own people. His countess, with her infant daughter, took refuge in England. The possessions of the earl were left unprotected. In the north they were seized by the O'Neiles; in Connaught by two collateral descendants of the De Burgo race. To escape a future demand of restitution, these ancient gentlemen embraced the laws and manners of the surrounding septs of Irish, and assumed the names of MacWilliam Eighter and MacWilliam Oughter. Of these, the latter, and we suspect the other also, were descendants from the second son of Richard de Burgo, grandfather to the murdered earl.

The viscount of this family, whom we are now to notice, demands this distinction on account of the very peculiar and unfortunate circumstances of his history. He sat as viscount Mayo in the parliament of 1634. When the troubles of 1641 commenced, he was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, conjointly with viscount Dillon. By virtue of the authority with which he was thus intrusted, he raised six companies of foot, and during three months kept the county in a quiet state without any aid from government.

As, however, it was not long before the convulsions in England threw a cloud of uncertainty upon every question at issue between parties; the rebels were soon divided into factions, each of which contended, and was ready to fight for the shade of loyalty or of opinion maintained by itself. It is not easy now to settle with precision, by what strange course of previous politics, or from what reasons of right, real, or supposed, the lord Mayo acted in direct opposition to the

principles, on the understanding of which he had been employed. Many of the circumstances are such, indeed, as to ascertain a feeble, uncertain and complying character; and indicate a degree of timidity and subservience, which it is necessary to assume as the most merciful excuses for unprincipled compliances, of which the result must have been foreseen by a little common sense, and guarded against by an ordinary sense of duty.

The accounts of the dark and bloody transactions in which this nobleman's name has been implicated, have been considered worth re-statement by Lodge,* with a view to clear his memory from the unjust imputation of having been a party to their guilt. From such a stain, we can have no doubt in declaring him free; but our voice must be qualified by some weighty exceptions.

The approach of the rebellion was early felt among the remote and wild mountains and moors of the county of Mayo. The condition of the peasantry was poor, their manners barbarous, and their minds superstitious: their preparations for the coming strife were rude, and being under comparatively loose restraint, but little concealed. Early in the summer of 1641, their smiths were observed to be industrious in the manufacture of their knives or skeins, well known as an ancient weapon of the rudest Irish war. And these rude implements were soon to be employed. The time quickly came, and the work of plunder and destruction began. As the incident here to be related is one of the most memorable which disgrace the annals of this period, and has been made the subject of much comment with which we cannot concur, we shall preface it by a few brief remarks to recall to the reader's mind that the principle upon which we have hitherto endeavoured to frame our statements, has been to give the facts as they have occurred, with an entire disregard to all uses which have been made of them. If we admit that the crimes of lawless and ignorant barbarians, which is the unquestionable character of the lower classes of the 17th century, may indirectly be imputed to the *cause* of which they were the instrument, yet we do not assent to the further implication that those atrocities can be charged directly to the principles of that cause or, (unless in special cases), to its leaders and promoters. One distinction will be found to have a general application, and may be adopted to its full extent; the conduct of the actors in the multifarious and complicated maze of crime, suffering, and folly, which is to occupy the chief portion of this volume, will be observed to be conformable to the personal characters of the agents, and not to any abstract principles or special dogmas. In this we do not mean in any way to vindicate the soundness of these supposed opinions, but simply to maintain that so far as our assertion is applied, they are utterly unconcerned. We do not mean to say that they who could place the

* We are unwilling to find fault with Lodge, or indeed (knowing as we do the difficulties of our history) with any writer on the score of confusion. But on this as in many other instances, we have had reason to lament the perplexity of arrangement which renders it hard to mould a clear narrative from his statements. In the long note from which we have drawn the facts of this memoir, there is a disregard to the order of events, such as to give a strange confusion to a narrative written in clear and simple language, and full of strong facts.

assassin's knife in the hands of lawless men, for the purpose of maintaining any principle, are to be acquitted: the truth of God is in higher hands—than those of the assassin. But we are far from assenting to the zeal, which for the sake of effect, would charge the most erroneous tenets with the crimes of men who would have sinned in the defence of the best and truest: the impulse, in whatever principle it originates, is propagated from its centre by means of the natural love of adventure, spoil, and lawless indulgence, common to those who have nothing to lose, and little but the fear of law to constrain them. Whether the zeal of opinion, or party animosity, move the centre—whether the cause be righteous or unjust—if its partisans be low, rude, and unimpressed by moral restraint, it is but too sure to be maintained by demonstrations, by which the soundest cause would be dishonoured;—robbery, murder, and the wanton cruelty of the passions and lusts of the most base and depraved minds: for it is unhappily, these, that float uppermost in such times. On this, we are here anxious to be distinctly and emphatically understood: often as we are, and shall be compelled to repeat accounts, which have been as the battle-fields of parties, contending in rival misrepresentations, and anxious as we are to stand aloof from the feelings by which the narratives on either side are more or less tinged; and at the same time to state these facts which we regard as inductive examples in the history of man, fully, and as they appear to our indifferent reason: we find it expedient to accompany them with the precaution of our most guarded comment. We cannot agree with those writers, who have manifested their desire to be held liberal by useless attempts to qualify, misrepresent, and understate such facts as have an irritating tendency: neither do we concur with those bold and zealous assertors, who are desirous to make them bear more than their full weight of consequence. Had such been silent on either side, the truth would be an easy thing, and the comment straight and brief. We, for our part, reject the statements of the first, and the heated and precipitate inferences of the latter: so far as they are directed to convey reproach to the general character and principles of action of their antagonist party.* We cannot assent with some of our fellow-labourers in the mine of Irish history, (a mine of sad combustibles,) that the most fierce and inhuman outrages were not committed by the peasantry in the name of their church and creed; but we are just as far from imputing the murders and massacres of an ignorant and inflamed populace who knew no better, to any church or creed. The insane brutality of O'Neile, the fiend-like atrocity of MacMahon, are no more to be attributed to a religion (in which they had no faith,) than the monstrous and profligate crimes of Nero and Caligula are to be imputed to the religion of Brutus and Seneca. We do not here mean to deny, or in any way to advert to any direct charges against the church of Rome as a church: with its effects as a fanaticism we are also well acquainted. Neither of these form the *gravamen* of

* We do not mean to disclaim party opinion in our individual person. But as editor of these Lives, we are earnestly desirous to keep self out of view. Whatever we may *feel* under the influence of these excitements, of which the world is composed, it is our desire and study to repress it, in the discharge of a duty of which impartial justice is the end, and indifference the principle.

the alleged imputations: the massacres of 1641, committed, as crime is ever but too likely to be committed, under holy pretences, and in duty's name, were committed by miscreants, whose actual impulses were neither those of religion or duty. Moore committed neither robbery or murder: nor Mountgarret, nor any of the noble lords and gentlemen whose various motives led, or impelled them to take up arms in the same cause. But when the whole lives, the recorded declarations, the preserved correspondence, and the well-attested courses of conduct of the leaders in crime are viewed; and when the state of the people is considered, it will be easy to see that they would have done the same in the name of Jupiter as for the Pope; for the creed of Budha as for the church of Rome. One more last word, and we shall proceed: we would remind many of our humane and philosophical contemporaries, that nothing is gained by attempting the charge of exaggeration, when the statements do not very strongly justify such a qualification: if thirty were butchered, the crime was just the same in degree as if it had been a hundred—having been only limited by the number of the victims exposed to the mercy of popular fanaticism. The reader will we trust excuse these tedious distinctions, as a preface to facts that demand them.

The rebellion in the county of Mayo commenced with the robbery of a gentleman of the name of Perceval. He brought his complaint to lord Mayo, and sought that redress which was to be looked for from one of the governors of the county. Lord Mayo marched out to recover the property of this complainant, whose cattle had been driven away and lodged within a mill near Ballyhaunis. This building the robbers had fortified, and while his lordship was considering what to do, he was visited by messengers from an armed rabble, who had collected at a little distance, with the avowed design of supporting the robbers in the mill. Several messages passed between them, and we are compelled to assume, that his lordship, on due consideration of his forces, found himself not prepared for a more spirited course: he "granted them a protection," a proceeding which each of the parties seem to have understood in a very different way. The crowd on this came forward, and mingled among his lordship's followers, "with much shouting and joy on both sides;" and no more is said about the mill and the property of Mr Perceval. In the midst of this motley course, his lordship next moved on to the abbey of Ballyhaunis, where the whole were entertained for the night. The friars of this abbey had been deprived of their possessions in the former reign: and on the first eruption of disturbance in the kingdom, a party of friars of (we believe,) the order of St Augustine, had returned to take possession of an ancient mansion of their order, which the approaching revolution that they expected, would, they hoped, enable them to secure. Altogether different in principles, opinions, and public feelings, from the secular clergy of the church of Rome, these men had no home interest in the community, with whom they had no relations: they were the faithful and unquestioning instruments of a foreign policy, and if they had any individual or private object at heart, it was to secure their newly acquired possession. These were not the persons most likely to act as moderators in the outset of demonstrations on the

course of which their whole dependence lay. They are in general terms accused of taking the occasion to aggravate the impulse by the excitement of the people. We see no reason to dissent from this statement, but we think it fair to add that the deponent from whose testimony the accusation is made, was precisely under those circumstances of terror and alarm, when small incidents assume a magnified form, and reports exaggerated by alarm carry fallacious impressions. To this consideration we must refer the inference by which Mr Goldsmith seems to have connected the hospitality of the friars with the general increase of violence. By their instructions, affirms the deponent, Mr John Goldsmith, the people "then broke forth into all inhuman practices, barbarous cruelties, and open rebellion." It is however plain, that this incident was a consequence of the practices of which it is assumed to be a cause. The rebellion in its progress had reached them, and such was its beginning in that county. From this time the violence of the country people of the surrounding country became wild, unrestrained, and dangerous to all but those who were their counsellors and abettors.

Mr John Goldsmith, from whose deposition the following particulars are mainly drawn, was a protestant clergyman, the incumbent of the parish of Brashoule. From the disturbed state of the country, of which his narrative contains a frightful picture, he was early compelled to seek refuge under the roof of the noble lord here under notice. His statement, though neither as full or clear as we should desire, is especially valuable for the authentic insight which it affords into the character and true circumstances of his noble protector, and for the lively glimpse which it presents of the terror and distress, which the lawless state of the country impressed on every breast, and propagated into every circle. The interior view of the family of Belcarrow, may, we doubt not, stand for many a trembling family and home beleaguered by fear and apprehension. Lord Mayo is himself represented as "miserably perplexed in the night with anxious thoughts." His lordship was, we have every reason to infer, a man of honour and humanity, but of that unfixed principle and ductile temper that takes its tone from the reflected spirit, or the influence of harder and firmer minds. He had the misfortune to be drawn by opposite feelings and in different directions. The menaces, flatteries, reproaches, and representations of the crowd and of their leaders, had a strong effect on his naturally ductile and feeble mind: rebellion raged all round, and her thunders and gay promises, her lofty pretensions and high-breathing illusions, formed an atmosphere without his gates, and met him wherever he went: within the walls of his castle he was surrounded by a protestant family, who were zealous and earnest in their faith; his lady, like all true-hearted women, was thoroughly in earnest about her religion, and by her authority and influence maintained the same spirit in a large household. At the time that this narrative refers to, the family of Belcarrow was augmented by several protestant fugitives, of whom the principal were Mr Gilbert and Mr Goldsmith, both clergymen, with their wives and families, besides several of the protestants of the neighbouring country, who in their general alarm found at Belcarrow a compassionate host and hospitable board,

and the free exercise of their religion, at a time when, according to Mr Goldsmith, it had nearly disappeared from every other part of the county. Thus collected by fear, the situation of this family was one of the most anxious suspense; they lived under the excitement of daily rumours of the most terrifying description, and were harassed by frequent though vague alarms. Of these, an example is given by Mr Goldsmith. One night the family, thus prepared to draw alarming interpretations from every noise, or be terrified by some frightened visitor's report of the doubtful appearances of night—when fancy hears voices, and bushes can be mistaken for robbers—was thrown into a causeless fright, and every preparation was made against an immediate attack: his lordship marched out with his men to meet a force, which we are strongly inclined to think, he did not expect to meet. Such was happily the fact: his lordship had the honour of a soldier-like demonstration, and his good family were quit for the fear.

They had however to endure more substantial and anxious alarms. Every thing in his lordship's deportment was such as to suggest fears of the liveliest description to all those who had either honour, conscience, or safety at heart. It was wavering and undecided; his intercourse with the people betrayed the uncertainty of his mind, even to those without, and must have been but too evident to those who surrounded his board. To this company their noble protector often complained of the deserted condition in which he was left by the government, to whom he had, he said, appealed in vain. His lordship was at the time anxiously halting between two opinions, the rebels were looking for his adherence, and his family were nightly expecting an attack upon the castle: the people saw their strength, and said that he should side with them; negotiations were kept up, and still deluding himself with notions of duty, and with questionable compromises, this weak lord fluttered as a bird under the fascination of the serpent; and flirted with sedition till he fell into the snare.

Among the curious indications of this course of his lordship's mind, we are inclined to set down a proposal which he is stated by Mr Goldsmith to have discussed with himself and others of his own household: which was no less than to take the rebels into his protection; and as he was neglected by the state, avail himself of their services in behalf of his majesty: a policy afterwards under altered circumstances, adopted by wiser persons than lord Mayo. Against this singular method of resisting rebellion, Mr Goldsmith protested; and his lordship put the proposition in another form equally creditable to his statesmanship and knowledge of mankind; he expressed his design "to subdue those of Costilo by the men of Gallen, and those of Gallen by the rebels that lived in the Carragh." On this important design he sent to Sir Henry Bingham, and requested a conference at Castlebar. The state of the country did not permit the meeting, but lord Mayo sent his plan in writing, which was signed by Sir Henry and others: a fact which shows the state of alarm in which they must have been at the time.

It was immediately after this that the inmates of his lordship's house began to notice proceedings from which, the more natural results of such demonstrations were to be inferred. His lordship, no doubt desirous to

be right, could not help reversing the poet's reproof, "too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient;" he took the course which it would perhaps have required a stronger spirit to avoid; and while he talked of resistance and the king's service, was under such pretexts daily contracting deeper affinity with the parties who involved his path on every side with a well-spun entanglement of menace and flattery. At this time "Mr Goldsmith perceived motions towards popery in his lordship's house; popish books of controversy were sent him; and Laughlin Kelly, the titular archbishop of Tuam, came and reconciled his lordship to the Roman church."

In the midst of his compliances, which were too evidently the result of feebleness and fear, lord Mayo evidently preserved some sense of what was due to his rank and the cause he had thus abandoned. It was, perhaps, the delusion with which he flattered himself, that the influence he should thus acquire over the people might enable him the better to protect the protestants, and the members of his own family: the illusion was humane and amiable, and may be set down to his credit. In this he was destined to be sadly undeceived.

It was while the protestant family of lord Mayo were in this state of harassing uncertainty, and the circumvallations of fear and artifice were daily drawn closer round their walls, that his lordship heard of the shocking and brutal abuse which Dr John Maxwell had received from a rebel leader, into whose hands he had been betrayed by a treacherous convoy. Lord Mayo, on learning of the circumstances, wrote a reproachful letter to the rebel, whose name was Edmund Bourke: and gave him to understand, that he would treat him as an enemy if he should hesitate to deal fairly with the bishop who was put into his hands under the pretence of conveying him on with his company, of whom several were the clergy of his diocese. On this, Bourke, who had no notion of leaving his own purposes for the bishop, brought him with his family, and left him within sight of lord Mayo's castle. He was taken in and treated with all the care and hospitality which was to be expected from the persons, and under the circumstances, and for a few days Dr Maxwell found himself among friends and fellow-christians: he had with him his wife, three children, five or six clergymen, and a numerous train of domestics, which the habits of the day required, and the apprehensions of danger perhaps increased. They remained ten days. Of course the bishop must have been anxious to reach home, and must have felt a natural reluctance to task the kindness of his host much longer with so heavy an addition. But it was now become a matter of serious danger to cross the country in the state in which it was known to be.

In this embarrassment, it seems natural that any occasion would be seized upon to forward the bishop's wishes: and an occasion was soon found. Edmund Bourke was still besieging Castlebar, when a letter from Sir H. Bingham caused lord Mayo to march out against him with all the men he could command. Bourke, whose object was not a battle with armed men, and his lordship, who was perhaps no less prudent, came to an agreement, that Bourke should give up his designs upon Castlebar, and agree to convoy the garrison, with the bishop and his party safe to Galway. Bourke agreed, and the matter was soon

arranged. The parties to be thus convoyed, had to be collected from Castlebar, Kinturk, and from his lordship's castle, and were to be brought together to the village of Shrule, from which they were as soon as convenient to be delivered up to the safeguard of Edmund Bourke, to escort them to Galway. Lord Mayo, with his son, the unfortunate Sir Theobald Bourke, at the head of his lordship's five companies, accompanied them from their several quarters to the village of Shrule, and did not leave them during their stay in that place. Lord Mayo cannot indeed, on this occasion, be accused of the wilful neglect of any precaution or care: he not only remained in the village, and slept with the bishop, but obtained from the titular archbishop of Tuam a strong promise to send with the convoy a letter of protection, and several priests and friars to see them safe in Galway.

It was on the evening of Saturday the 12th of February, 1641, that his lordship, with the bishop's family, occupied the house of serjeant Lambert at this village. The village was filled with their companions, the several parties and his lordship's soldiers, and felt heavily the burthen of providing for such numbers. So that, though the following day was Sunday, a strong entreaty was made that they should travel on, by the principal persons of the surrounding barony. Lord Mayo now dismissed his companies, and made such preparations as he could for the ease and security of the travellers: he made his son and others of the party dismount, and left his own servant, Edmund Dooney, a five pound note for the bishop, to be delivered when he should part with them at Galway fort. The convoy, commanded by Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, and Ulick Bourke of Castlehacket, awaited the party a mile from Shrule, at a place called Killemanagh: and thither they now set out, accompanied by a party of lord Mayo's men, but commanded at the moment by Edmund Bourke, who was brother to the actual captain. The hour was far advanced towards noon, when Bourke and his men had come out from mass, and all were ready to start. The way to the nearest halting-place was ten miles, and Bourke earnestly pressed them to get forward.

Lord Mayo was hardly out of sight, and the travellers had but cleared the bridge of Shrule, when a sudden and violent assault was made upon them by their perfidious guards. There was no struggle except to fly, and that was too confused to be successful; nor, in the hurried and random tumult of the slaughter, where every individual was compelled to mind himself or what was nearest where he stood, was it possible for any one to carry away a precise description of the scene of butchery which then took place. From the depositions of individuals a few incidents are collected, and these probably describe the remainder. When the bridge was just passed, a shot was fired from between the bushes, whereupon Edmund Bourke drew his sword. and the examinant rode back to the bridge with the bishop's child behind him, when he was charged with pikemen, but was rescued by Walter Bourke MacRichard MacThomas MacRoe, who drew his sword and made way for him. "Some," to use the language of depositions, "were shot, some stabbed with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying on their husbands to save them, were run

through with pikes, so that very few escaped.”* The bishop was wounded in the head, the clergymen in his company were slain, except one, a Mr Crowd who was so severely beaten that he shortly died. The number slain is stated to have been sixty-five, and we see no reason to doubt this statement. In such cases, it is to be granted that exaggeration is to be suspected, but it is as likely at least on the side of those who seek to extenuate a crime, as on the part of those who stand in the place of accusers. And we should observe, that although the loss of one life more or less, must practically be a matter of most serious moment, nothing is gained in the point of extenuation; the crime of murder does not increase and diminish by numerical proportion. The point is frivolous; but it is fair to state that the Roman catholic gentry of the surrounding district, affirmed that the number slain was not above thirty. It is more satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that the Roman catholic gentry of the country came forward to the aid of the few who escaped from that hideous scene, and that they brought them to their homes. Among the charitable persons who distinguished themselves in this pious work, none deserved a more grateful commemoration than “Bryan Kilkenny, the guardian of the neighbouring abbey of Ross, who, though an aged man, was one of the first that made haste to the rescue, and brought the bishop’s wife and children, and many others, to his monastery, where they were hospitably entertained, to the best of the friar’s ability, for several nights.”†

Lord Mayo, when he proceeded on his way, rode towards Conge; the house of his son, Sir Tibbot, and about six miles from Shrulle. On the way he stopped at the house of a Mr Andrew Lynch, intending there to await the arrival of Sir Tibbot. He was about to dismount from his horse, when a horseman came up at full speed and gave him the information of this disastrous event. Lord Mayo, overpowered with horror and indignation, retired to a chamber, where he gave expression to the most frantic exclamations of his vexation and grief; he “then wept bitterly, pulling off his hair, and refusing to hear any manner of persuasion or comfort.” While he was in this state, his son, who had barely escaped with his life, arrived, and “with tears related the tragedy, but could not certainly tell who was killed or who escaped; but being demanded by his father why he would ever come away, but either have preserved their lives, or have died with them; answered, that when they began the slaughter, they charged him (having his sword drawn against them) with their pikes and muskets, and would have killed him, but that John Garvy, the sheriff of the county of Mayo, (who was brother-in-law to Edmund Bourke, the principal murderer,) came in betwixt him and them, took him in his arms, and, by the assistance of others, forcibly carried him over the bridge.” The deposition from which this extract is taken goes on to say, that lord Mayo having proceeded to Conge, took his bed for some days, after which he went, on the third day, to the house of the titular archbishop, where he conformed to the church of Rome—and heard mass. In two days more he attended a great meeting

* Deposition, Lodge.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 258.

of "the county," we presume a meeting of the Roman catholic gentry and priesthood, at Mayo, and was "for ever after," says the deposition, "under the command of the Romish clergy." All the English in the county of Mayo followed his lordship's example, with the exception of his own household; who are enumerated, on the authority of Mr Goldsmith, by Lodge as follows: "the viscountess Mayo, the lady Bourke, Mrs Burley, Mr Tarbock, Mr Hanmec, Owen the butler, Alice the cookmaid, Mr and Mrs Goldsmith, and Grace, their child's nurse." The condition of these can be conceived. Mr Goldsmith was, by his lordship's permission, and by the lady's desire, allowed to minister to the spiritual wants of this small congregation, "shut in by fear on every side." As this gentleman appears under these circumstances to have exercised great zeal and boldness in resisting the new opinions which were attempted every hour to be pressed upon the family, he soon became the cause of remonstrance and reproach against his protector. Lord Mayo was reproved by the titular archbishop, already mentioned, for suffering him to exercise his ministry, and insisted that he should "deliver him up to them." "What will ye do with him?" says my lord. "We will send him," said the bishop, "to his friends." "You will," said my lord, "send him to Shrute to be slain, as you did others; but if you will give me six of your priests to be bound body for body for his safe conveying to his friends, I will deliver him to you." The bishop must have thought his six priests something more than lawful change for one protestant divine, and perhaps rated rather lowly the orthodoxy of his noble convert; he refused the compromise, and prevailed with lord Mayo so far, that Mr Goldsmith was compelled to be confined to a private part of the house, and kept in daily fear of being murdered. On Sundays he was allowed to officiate clandestinely for the servants, till at last lady Mayo summoned up firmness to insist that he should be allowed openly to read prayers and preach to the few protestants who remained.

Lord Mayo was appointed governor of the county of Mayo, and admitted as one of their body by the supreme council of Kilkenny. In this new dignity his lordship did no harm, and performed some good services to humanity. On one occasion he interfered effectually to prevent one of those frightful massacres of unresisting victims which is the disgrace of that period. "The clan Jordans, the clan Steevens, and clan Donells, came to Strade and Ballysahan, and gathered together all the British they found there, closed them up in a house, (in the same manner as had been done at Sligo, when a butcher with his axe slew forty in one night) with an intent that night to murder them; but notice thereof having been given to the lord Mayo, he prevented their wickedness, and preserved the poor innocent people from slaughter." At last lord Mayo discovered that the councils of rebellion could not continue to be participated in by the timid, the honourable, or the humane; that none could endure the spirit of atrocity that had been roused into action but those who shared its influence; and that without this recommendation, it was not possible to escape the suspicion and dislike of those who had themselves abandoned all the ties of civilization: he had not contaminated his conscience by partici-

pating in any voluntary act of rebellion, and at length he found resolution to break the sanguinary and degrading trammel, and made his escape in 1644 from the supreme council.

Lord Mayo died in 1649; but his son, Sir Tibbot, or Theobald, Burke, was, in a few years after, tried, and sentenced to be shot, upon a most flagrantly unjust and iniquitous charge of having been concerned in the massacre at Shrute. It is mentioned by Lodge, that the soldiers appointed to shoot him, missed him three times; "but at last a corporal, blind of an eye, hit him. His property of fifty thousand acres was forfeited by his attainder, and that of his father, who was at the time dead. And his son was, by the charitable consideration of the government, on his petition, sent to a free school in Dublin; and would probably, had his own spirit and the affection of his relations permitted, in course of time been apprenticed out to some handicraft. He was, however, in some time sent for by his mother's relations, and lived to be restored to his rank and paternal acres.

This branch of the Bourke family is, we believe, extinct. The title has been revived in another line of the same name and race.

OWEN O'NEILE.

DIED A. D. 1648.

At the commencement of the rebellion the Irish administration was without energy, authority, wisdom, or resource; it was wholly inadequate to the occasion, timid, self-interested, feeble and stained with numerous imputations, of which many were too true not to give a colour to all: the nobility and gentry whose interests lay in the preservation of peace and social order, were forced into the rebel councils either from the want of defence or the fear of injustice; the foreign rivals and enemies of England, watching over the progress of the strife and waiting the favourable moment to throw their sword and gold into the scale: but more than all together, for all this were nothing, England divided against herself, and incapable of that effectual interposition which alone could overrule the tumultuary outbreaks of Irish insurrection. For a time the question of rebellion became doubtful; for not only was there no power to quell its brawling, murdering, and plundering factions, but the claim of allegiance and the authority of laws and institutions appeared to be lost. The social convention which imposes a due subordination on the better sense of mankind, was broken up in the conflict between the fundamental authorities; and it soon became a question easier to ask than answer, which was the government, and which the object of allegiance—the parliament or the king; and how far a people who had their own peculiar interests, and who under existing circumstances could be assisted or controlled by neither, were at liberty to take their own part. We do not, it is true, believe that external accidents, such as we have stated here, can alter the true moral character of the intents, or of the agencies at work in that disjointed period. We do not think the justification of the rebel parties which we are to trace through

their several courses, at all commensurate with the excuses thus afforded by *after events*. But it is to our more decided purpose to observe that by the vast and general confusion of rights and authorities, to which we have adverted, the rebels gained a great accession of strength. Many in whom it was virtue, honour, and loyalty, to be faithful to king Charles, were led to connect his cause with the prosperity of rebellion; and many, on the other hand, whose aims were inconsistent with the royal cause, found support in the adoption of the specious pretext of loyalty. Thus throughout this lengthened interval, the fate of all the brawling commotions which harassed the country was prolonged into a lingering existence, by the state of affairs in England. Agitated to the centre by her own troubles, England was not in a condition to detach any effectual force on either side; and the insurgent parties were thus left to brawl and battle as they might, among themselves. As every reflecting reader will anticipate, various designs occupied the leading spirits of disorganization, and they soon began to neutralize each other, with contending passions and opposed ambition. And this was the second act of the drama. Then last came, as usual, the event of popular revolutions and tragedies; the gathering retribution of eight long years of crime and infatuation, was poured out upon this most hapless country; and the last act is closed with more than poetical justice, by the crushing and indiscriminate hand of Cromwell and his iron associates. Such is the outline of the remainder of this volume.

The events from which we are now to start are of a character to demand, as we have apprized the reader, considerable detail. The rebellion was about to subside, from the experience which was beginning to be felt of the utter inefficiency of the troops which its leaders could bring into the field: they were discovering that their undisciplined and tumultuary mobs were more fit for the work of massacre and plunder than to face an enemy in the field; and the defeats they had sustained from Stewart, Ormonde, Coote, and other government leaders with comparatively small forces, had so discouraged Sir Phelim O'Neile and his confederates, that they had begun to prepare for their escape from the country; when other concurrent causes long in preparation, arrested their meditated desertion and gave new animation to the contest. Leland mentions the arrival of Owen O'Neile, as the main incident which renewed the subsiding zeal of the rebels; and undoubtedly from his arrival in the moment of deepest distress, when the chiefs were on the point of flight, they must have derived new energy and hope. But from our perusal of many of Leland's authorities and even from himself, we are inclined to date this renovation from a few months earlier; when the certainty of his coming and the accession of foreign supplies must have been foreknown. Owen O'Neile landed in July; early in March the Irish prelates, who had with little exception hitherto held back from any countenance of the rebels, came forward with open declarations in their favour. As Carte, quoting a letter* of Sir C. Coote, observes "the Romish clergy who (as the lords-justices say) had hitherto walked somewhat invisibly in all these works of darkness,

* Carte, I. p. 316.

now began openly to justify that rebellion, which they were before supposed underhand to promote." That the Roman catholic prelates must have desired the success of this rebellion, may be regarded as a matter of course; and, considering their peculiar position and class of duties, it is less an imputation to this body to make this affirmation, than it is their just praise to have withheld their personal sanction from the revolting and mischievous atrocity by which it had been characterized. And if it be just to suspect that they had entertained the favourable sentiment assumed, it is certainly due to fairness to observe, that there should be strong circumstantial ground for accusing them of the infamous participation supposed in Sir C. Coote's letter. It cannot for a moment be believed, that a body of men so intelligent, whose main occupation was the administration of the interests of the Christian religion, under any form, could allow themselves to imagine a cause which they deemed sacred, to be connected with the fiendlike atrocities and the superstitious blasphemies of a deluded peasantry; whose conduct, injurious most of all to the religion whose name their ignorance abused, is rather to be attributed to their utter ignorance than to their creed. Of this there are indeed too many, and too obvious proofs. The prelates, unquestionably desirous for the advancement of their church to the ascendancy which they deemed to belong to her by right, would have considered such an event as a full compensation for the horrors of such a rebellion; if we were to assent to their principle, we should easily arrive at the same inference. And when they saw the turn which events were likely to take, and were encouraged in their consistent duty, by the assurance of large succours from abroad, they necessarily stepped forward to extract what they considered to be good from that which they knew to be evil. The best that can be said is to be found in the consideration, that with some exceptions the Roman catholic clergy had strenuously resisted the crimes of their deluded congregations; and the conduct of one of the body may be mentioned, as indicative at least that their convention in Kilkenny was no long concerted movement, but a change of purpose on the demand of occasion. The titular bishop of Meath had throughout, from the beginning, exerted himself strenuously and efficaciously in opposition to the rebellion, which he declared to be groundless and unjust; and by his remonstrances prevailed with many noblemen and gentry of that diocese to be still. The same resistance which he offered to the rebels, he afterwards offered to the prelates. And this it may be supposed was not permitted without censure. The rebels complained aloud: and the synod of Kells commanded the dissentient prelate who refused to attend their meeting, to retract on pain of having a complaint made to the Pope.

It was probably at the synod of Kells called by Hugh O'Neile titular of Armagh, that the general synod of the Irish prelates at Kilkenny was projected and resolved. At this latter on the 10th May, 1642, the titular archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, with six other bishops, the proxies of five more, with other dignitaries of the church of Rome, assembled and declared the war just and lawful.* To avoid the risk

* Carte.

of misstating or omitting any of the more peculiar and distinguishing resolutions of this meeting, we shall here offer a few extracts from its own acts; important, as best manifesting the feelings and the political character of Ireland, in the time of which we write. As they would occupy many pages if given *in extenso*, we select all that is in any way to our purpose; as stated in

“Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the general congregation held at Kilkenny, the 10th, 11th and 13th days of May, 1642, by those prelates whose names are subscribed, the proctors of such other prelates as then were absent being present, together with the superiors of the regulars, and many other dignitaries and learned men, as well in divine, as in common law, with divers pastors and others of the catholick clergy of all Ireland, whose names are likewise hereafter set down.

“1st. Whereas the war which now in Ireland the catholicks do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against puritans, for the defence of the catholick religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and the royal rights of our gracious king Charles, for our gracious queen so unworthily abused by the puritans, for the honour, safety and health of their royal issue, for to avert and refrain the injuries done unto them, for the conversion of the just, and lawful safeguard, liberties and rights of Ireland; and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands and possessions: whereas I said this war is by the catholicks undertaken for the foresaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors and their enemies, chiefly puritans; and that hereof we are informed as well by divers and true remonstrances of divers provinces, counties and noblemen, as also by the unanimous consent and agreement of almost the whole kingdom in this war and union: We therefore declare that war openly catholick, to be lawful and just, in which war if some of the catholicks be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished, and refrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend.

“2d. Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and under the king's name do print proclamations, which are not the king's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue unto our nation; we therefore, to stop the way of untruth and forgeries of the political adversaries, do will and command, that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations, may have place or belief, until it be known in a national council whether they truly proceed from the king, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom hereafter to be appointed by the national council, have free passage to his majesty, whereby the kingdom may be certainly informed of his majesty's intention and will.

“3d. Whereas no family, city, commonwealth, much less kingdom, may stand without union and concord, without which this kingdom for the present standeth in most danger, we think it therefore necessary that all Irish peers, magistrates, noblemen, cities, and pro-

vinces, may be tied together with the holy bond of union and concord, and that they frame an oath of union and agreement which they shall devoutly, and christianly take, and faithfully observe. And for the conservation and exercise of this union, we have thought fit to ordain the ensuing points.

"4th. We straightly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no alienation, comparison, or difference, between provinces, cities, towns or families; and lastly, not to begin, or forward any emulations, or comparisons whatsoever.

"5th. That in every province of Ireland there be a council made up both of clergy and nobility, in which council shall be so many persons at least as are counties in the province; and out of every city or notable town two persons.

"6th. Let one general council of the whole kingdom be made, both of the clergy, nobility, cities, and notable towns; in which council there shall be three out of every province, and out of every city one, or where cities are not, out of the chiefest towns. To this council the provincial councils shall have subordination; and from thence to it may be appealed, until this national council have opportunity to sit together. Again if any thing of great importance do occur, or be conceived in one province, which by a negative vote is rejected in the council of one province, let it be sent to the councils of other provinces; except it be such a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the weal-publick of the other provinces.

"7th. Embassage sent from one province to foreign nations shall be held as made from the rest of the provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof shall be imparted and divided between the provinces and cities which have more need thereof, chiefly such helps and fruits as proceed from the bountiful liberality of foreign princes, states, prelates, or others whatsoever; provided always that the charge and damage be proportionably recompensed.

"9th. Let a faithful inventory be made in every province of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties which are permitted by the puritan enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of publick authority.

"17th. Whereas diverse persons do diversely carry themselves towards this cause; some with helps and supplies do assist the adversaries; others with victuals and arms; others with their advice and authority, supporting as it were the contrary cause; some also as neuters behaving themselves; and others, lastly, neglecting their oath, do forsake the catholick union and cause; we do therefore declare and judge all and every such as do forsake this union, do fight for our enemies, accompany them in their war, defend or in any other way assist them, as giving them weapons, victuals, council or favour, to be excommunicated, and by these presents do excommunicate them; provided that this present decree shall be first published in every diocese respectively, and having received admonition beforehand, which shall supply the treble admonition otherwise requisite, and we do hereby declare, so it be made in the place where it may easily come to the

knowledge of those whom it toucheth. But as touching judgment and punishment of the neuters, we leave it to the ordinaries of every place respectively, so that the ordinaries themselves be not contrary to the judgment and opinion of this congregation; in which cause we commit power to the metropolitans or archbishops to proceed against such ordinaries, according to the common course of law, wherein they are to be very careful and speedy; and if the metropolitans be found herein careless or guilty, let them be liable to such punishment as is ordained by the holy canons, and let them be accused to the see apostolick.

"18th. We ordain a decree t at all and every such as from the beginning of this present war, have invaded the possessions of goods as well moveable as unmoveable, spiritual or temporal of any catholick, whether Irish or English, or also of any Irish protestant being not adversary of this cause, and to detain any such goods, shall be excommunicated.

"20th. We will and declare all those that murther, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain, until they completely amend, and satisfy no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated, and for satisfaction of such crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, we leave to the discretion of the ordinaries and confessors how to absolve them.

"21st. Tradesmen for making weapons, or powder brought into this country, or hereafter to be brought in, shall be free from all taxations or customs; as also all merchants as shall transport into this country such wares as are profitable for the catholick cause, as arms and powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any custom, for commodities brought out of this kingdom, or transported hither of that kind; and let this be proclaimed in all provinces, cities, and towns.

"22d. We think it convenient, that in the next national congregation, some be appointed out of the nobility and clergy, as ambassadors to be sent in the behalf of the whole kingdom, unto the kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor, and his Holiness, and those to be of the church prelates, or one of the nobility and a lawyer."

In addition to these resolutions, which present a fair view of the political opinions and general character of the party from whom they came, a further view is to be obtained of their more immediate and personal object, from certain propositions specified in an oath of association framed at this meeting, and designed to be taken by all confederates of their party. In this are stated as objects to be maintained by the swearer, that the Roman catholic religion was to be restored to its full splendour and lustre, as it was in the reign of Henry VII. That all penal and restrictive laws were to be annulled—and that "all primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, chancellors, treasurers, chaunters, provosts, wardens of collegiate churches, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and other pastors of the Roman catholick secular clergy, and their respective successors, shall, have, hold, and enjoy, all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample manner, as the late protestant

clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641; together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and the rights to their respective sees and churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the possession of the confederate catholicks, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said confederate catholicks from the adverse party, within this kingdom, saving to the Roman catholick laity their rights, according to the law of the land."

The assembly of the lords and deputies from the counties was the immediate result of the arrangements made by the congregation of prelates; in conformity with the intent of their summoners they proceeded to pass resolutions to maintain the rights of the church of Rome. They adopted the common law of England and Irish statutes, so far as they were agreeable to their religion, and not contrary to Irish liberty; they confirmed the authority of the king, but declared against that of his Irish government. They then entered into arrangements for the government of the country by their own authority, for then each county was to have its council of twelve, which was to decide all civil causes and to nominate all public officers with the exception of sheriffs. From these councils there lay an appeal to the provincial council, composed of two deputies from each county, to sit four times in the year; and lastly, this council might be appealed from, to the supreme council of twenty-four, elected by the general assembly. This last was to govern the country and conduct the war. It is only material here to add, that in the very first constitution there is to be discerned an important element of the strong party divisions among the confederates, which are presently to occupy our attention; in adopting the oath of association, which the clerical assembly had prepared for themselves and their party, they rejected the clause already quoted, by which the person swearing was bound not to consent to any peace, until the Roman catholic church should be reinstated in its full splendour. Instead of this, they were content to stipulate for the freedom of their worship. The disposition thus indicated, was quickly shown in the long-continued negotiation for peace and in the cessation, which was presently discussed and settled; but prevented from coming to a definitive settlement by the strenuous and successful manœuvres of the nuncio Rinuncini with the aid of Owen O'Neile.

We come now to Owen O'Neile. He was more indebted to his high reputation, obtained in a long course of foreign service, than to the claim of descent, for the anxious earnestness with which his coming had been sought and his arrival welcomed by his countrymen. In point of lineal pretension to the rank of the O'Neile, to which he for some time appeared to have pretended, his claim was more than balanced by that of Sir Phelim, whose descent, though not derived from the last possessor, was unadulterated by illegitimacy, which affects the line of Colonel Owen at three successive steps, from Con Boccagh to his father Art. While Sir Phelim derived from Owen the grandfather to the same Con Boccagh.

Con, created earl of Tyrone by Henry VII., had, as the reader knows, two sons—the notorious Shane already noticed, and Matthew,

a bastard, who was created baron of Dungannon and appointed his successor, but slain at the instigation of Shane. This Matthew left several illegitimate sons, of whom one died, leaving an illegitimate son of his own name, to whom Philip IV. of Spain gave his father's regiment and letters of legitimation, which, however, were to no purpose, sought to be confirmed at Rome. This therefore would seem to be the nearest claim to the representation of the baron of Dungannon. But this person had either too little activity or too much good sense, to prosecute a claim so likely to be productive of more buffets than acres; and died without any effort to regain the honours of his race. Another son of the baron of Dungannon, also illegitimate, had lived to transmit his name by the same questionable title to a son, Art O'Neile, who we are left to presume, broke the custom of the family by leaving a family of sons, born in wedlock; of these Owen was the youngest.*

Owen served in the Spanish army and obtained early promotion. He was a person of very considerable experience and ability; well versed in the ways of men, brave, cautious, skilful in war, and possessing the manners and habits of a foreign gentleman. Having passed through all the subordinate ranks he was made a colonel, and obtained very distinguished reputation, by his successful defence of Arras, against the French in 1640.

After the violence of the first irregular outbreak was subdued, more by the separate efforts of individuals than by the councils or resources of the government, the insurrection began to subside as suddenly as it had commenced. There was no real strength, or with the exception of those who were the depositaries of a foreign design, no real inclination to continue a strife, of which the loss of life and property had been so severely felt on either side.

The state of the rebel chiefs in Ulster was at the point of desperation, when a fresh impulse was given to their hopes, by the news of the arrival of colonel Owen O'Neile, who in the middle of July, landed in Donegal, with arms and ammunition, and one hundred officers. The general effect thus produced was immediate and extensive, and the courage and hopes of the rebels were universally revived. This result was confirmed both by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, and the coincidence of other favourable circumstances; other formidable armaments and supplies, began to crowd in, in rapid succession from foreign ports. Of these, two ships arrived in the harbour of Wexford with military stores, and colonel Thomas Preston followed with a ship of the line and two frigates, with a train of artillery, a company of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other vessels soon after arrived with further stores, officers, and men, sent by Richelieu, and disciplined in continental war. The character and consistency of the rebel force was thus at once raised to a military footing; while the English had deteriorated in an equal degree. The increasing dissensions between the king and parliament were on the point of kindling into war; the powers on either side were collecting into a state of anxious and watchful concentration; neither men nor money could be spared. nor was there a thought to be bestowed on Ireland farther than, as it

* Carte, L. 349.

might in any way be the excuse for preparation, or the pretext for levies. The Irish government, and the commanders, who had hitherto kept a superiority under all disadvantages in the field, had exhausted their efforts, and were quite unprepared for this fresh infusion of vigour in the rebel party. The rebels, besides being well supplied, commanded the channel, seized the supplies, and cut off the trade of Dublin and every other port within the reach of their cruisers.

O'Neile had the double advantage of caution and decision, he wasted no time in inactivity, but at once proceeded to take advantage of these favourable circumstances. He was "a man of clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts."* On his arrival a meeting was held at Kinard, the castle of Sir Phelim, where he was unanimously declared their head by the rebel gentry of Ulster, a post soon confirmed by the council of Kilkenny. The first step he took was creditable to him, but must have been galling to the pride of Sir Phelim. He publicly declared his horror and detestation of the robberies and massacres, which till then had been the main conduct of the rebellion, and most of all of Sir Phelim. Colonel O'Neile told his sanguinary and brutal kinsman, that, he deserved to receive himself the cruelties he had inflicted; he burned the houses of several of the notorious murderers at Kinard, where Sir Phelim had collected a ruffian vicinity around his house, stained as it was by every detestable outrage against the laws of God and man. He next addressed himself to fortify Charlemont fort, against an expected siege. When describing the reduced condition of the government, and the destitution of the English of all present means of resistance, we should perhaps not have omitted to estimate the large force of general Monroe, who at the head of ten thousand Scots, occupied a strong position in Carrickfergus, and held the command of Ulster; but the reasons for this omission will presently appear. Monroe had his own objects independent of the settlement of Irish affairs, or he had his orders from those who had an opposite purpose; without this allowance his conduct was such as to betray no small incapacity for offensive warfare. He avoided all direct interference when it might have been of decisive avail, and contented himself with the seizure of such forts and castles as might be effected without any risk; and we cannot doubt that, the agreement by which they were thus put into possession of the strongest and most important province of this island, was altogether designed to circumvent and embarrass the king, to overrule any circumstances from which he might hope to derive an advantage, and to occupy the ground for the future designs of the parliamentary leaders. True to this convention, Monroe steadily resisted the demonstrations in favour of the royal cause, seized on the known adherents of the king, refused all aid to the government leaders, and let the rebels do as they pleased, so long as this course was compatible with his own safety and the designs of his real party, the parliamentarians of England.

In the month of August he was joined by lord Leven, with

* Carte.

the remainder of the stipulated army from Scotland. Lord Leven addressed a letter to O'Neile, in which he expressed his astonishment that one of his rank and respectable reputation should have come to Ireland to support a cause so bad. O'Neile replied, that he had a better right to defend his own country, than his lordship to march into England against his king.

Lord Leven's exploits were limited to this effort of diplomacy, he returned to Scotland, having assured Monroe that he would be defeated if once O'Neile should get an army together. Before his departure he refused to permit the removal of the government stores from Carrickfergus. This act of opposition, with the continued inaction of the Scotch under Monroe, was perhaps correctly interpreted by the Irish when they assumed, that there was nothing to be apprehended from Monroe, with his ten thousand Scots and an equal force of English and Irish troops; he lay still, and suffered O'Neile to make all his arrangements, and to collect and discipline his army till the following spring. In the mean time the army under Monroe was not improving in its condition. The parliament, which merely designed to overawe the country and to hold it in occupation, were sparing in their supplies: the regiments of Stewart, Cole, &c., who had commanded in the king's name, were altogether excluded from the commission of parliament, and received no pay during that year, in which their nearly unsupported efforts had actually suppressed the rebellion. The rebels were better provided for by the continual supplies from abroad: on the 20th of October, two thousand muskets came from the Pope to Wexford, of which five hundred were sent by the council of Kilkenny to O'Neile.

In this general state of things, the remainder of the year 1642 passed away. The rebels were obtaining strength in most quarters; and the English officers, who have already appeared in many severe toils and brave achievements, were with their own unsupported and impoverished resources, maintaining a doubtful, but brave and skilful resistance, about the counties of the ancient pale. Efforts such as they made to obtain money, were met by promises which were not kept. The parliament which had no wish either to part with means or to end the rebellion, artfully directed applications to the king, which were brought forward by their own adherents, in the obvious hope of inducing him to waste his means on the rebellion, as well as to compromise himself on one side or the other. For the rebels had assumed the place of loyalists, and a little backwardness on the part of his majesty might be interpreted into a formidable accusation, while the contrary course must have the effect of involving him in fresh hostility, and a ruinous division of his resources. Of these incidents we shall have to bring forward large details.

Monroe lay still till the next May; but, finding his resources fast diminishing, and feeling himself pressed by approaching necessities, while the growth of a formidable enemy was beginning to control his motions, he was at length incited to effort. He had wasted and impoverished the country round Carrickfergus, and now hoped to obtain relief by the surprise of O'Neile; with this purpose he marched his army with fast and secret expedition into Armagh. Owen O'Neile

occupied a position in which Charlemont fort was included, with a small body of about four hundred men. His antagonist had conducted his approach with successful caution; and, little dreaming of an enemy, he was out hunting when his sight was arrested by a gleam of weapons, and the rapid advance of a large host, which his experienced eye recognised for an enemy. Without an instant's hesitation he spurred at full speed to his fortress. He was late to escape a disadvantageous, because very unequal collision, but the inequality of force was more than balanced by the clear head and cool resolution with which he availed himself of his knowledge of the ground. For an hour he resisted the utmost efforts of Monroe's men, in a lane thickly enclosed with copses, and at last succeeded in withdrawing into the fort without the loss of a man. Monroe, thinking to forage through the surrounding country seized on every pass, and collected a considerable supply of cattle; but on the following day, he was attacked by colonel Sandford, and routed with great loss.

O'Neile was next menaced by a small army under the command of lord Montgomery and colonel Chichester. He soon ascertained that they merely came to look for spoil, and wisely resolving not to throw away his resources, he was content to foil their purpose by causing the cattle to be driven away. He then pursued his way towards Leitrim, but in passing through the county of Monaghan, he had the ill fortune to meet a small body of regular soldiers under the command of Sir Robert Stewart and his brother, at Clonish, on the borders of Fermanagh. The results of this incident we have already had occasion to describe. The force of Stewart was about half that of O'Neile, but owing to the great numbers of cattle and of country people under his escort, the latter commander was only enabled to bring 1600 men to the encounter. In this respect they were therefore equal. O'Neile had, however, the advantage of a strong position guarded by a difficult pass. In despite of this advantage, which must of itself have been decisive, with troops of equal efficiency, Stewart forced the pass, and defeated Owen O'Neile with prodigious slaughter.

Owen O'Neile, who had in this affair a very narrow escape from being slain in an encounter with captain Stewart, after the fight escaped back to Charlemont, from whence after a few days, according to his previous intention, he made his way to Leitrim. There he continued for the purpose of recruiting his forces, and watching for an effective occasion to come forward again; and such was his expedition and popularity, that twelve days had not elapsed when he was enabled again to move on into Westmeath, as strong as ever in men.

Some time previous to the battle of Clonish, the marquess of Ormonde had the king's directions to enter into treaty with the rebels; the condition of his affairs made him look to Ireland as a last resource; and about the time that O'Neile was on his flight to Charlemont fort, the marquess was opening a negotiation with the council of Kilkenny. Of this, we reserve the detail for a more appropriate place. This negotiation was protracted and interrupted during its course by the designs of the several parties engaged on either side. It will be here enough to mention, that the national assembly was composed of two parties, wholly distinct in their objects. The moderate lay party, who were

earnestly desirous to bring matters to a pacific termination, such as to secure their properties and personal immunities; and the ecclesiastical party, which, supported both by the court of Rome and by the popular sense, were for pushing their real or supposed advantages, and resisting all treaty short of a full and entire reduction of the country to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman see. In this divided state of the rebel party, the negotiation was rendered additionally precarious by the hostile demonstrations of Owen O'Neile and of Preston, who were more immediately under the influence of the ecclesiastical party; nor was it less the desire of the marquess of Ormonde to avail himself of these warlike demonstrations, if possible to obtain in the mean time some decided advantage in the field. Another consideration rendered this desirable; both O'Neile and Preston were endeavouring to place themselves under circumstances such that in case of a cessation of arms they would be enabled to extend their position, and organize efficiently along the borders of the pale, an army by which on the first violation of the treaty, or on its termination, they would have a command over these counties. And this was the more to be apprehended, as the resources of the government parties in Ireland, (also twofold, royal and parliamentary,) were likely during any cessation to be absorbed by the English rebellion. Such is a summary sketch of the state of affairs, at the time of O'Neile's advance to Mullingar, about the 24th of June, 1643.

Under these circumstances, every effort to bring together any efficient body of men commanded by a competent leader, against the strong armies of O'Neile and Preston, amounting to upwards of 12,000 men, was found quite impracticable. The king, engaged in a treaty with the rebels, was more anxious to obtain than able to afford means for resistance; the parliament were as little willing to waste a penny on a contest of little direct importance. There was therefore no effective force in the field against the rebels; and while lord Castlehaven was taking possession of the forts in Wicklow and the Queen's County, and Preston with 7000 men securing the harvests of Meath, Owen O'Neile with upwards of 5000 foot and 700 good cavalry, entered Westmeath with the same design; nor did he stop, till he had stripped the country "from the county of Cavan to the barony of Slane."* He was then joined by an army under Sir James Dillon, and with him took the castles of Killallan, Balratty, Ballibeg, Beckliffe, Balsonne, and Ardsallagh, and laid siege to Athboy, with the intention to take all the places of strength in Meath. The Irish government in Dublin had to no purpose endeavoured to oppose these advances, by drawing a portion of the only efficient force in their possession, and then under the command of Monroe in Ulster. To this Monroe objected, and refused to part with any portion of the army under his orders. It was while O'Neile was engaged in the siege of Athboy, that he was attacked by a small party under lord Moore, who, as we have already related, lost his life by a cannon shot. The government force were not enabled, however, to keep the field long

* Carte.

enough to offer any effectual check, and the Irish confederates went on taking castles without any resistance, until the treaty conducted by the marquess of Ormonde ended in a cessation, concluded on the 15th September, between the marquess and the commissioners.

During the continuance of this cessation, many occurrences both civil and military, in both countries, were working to complicate the position of the several parties. They may for the present, be summed in the two facts, that the affairs of the king were becoming more urgent and desperate, and those of the parliament more ascendant. In Ireland one strong party continued to labour successfully to prevent any accommodation of a permanent nature between the king and the rebels. This party the king on his part endeavoured to conciliate by manœuvres (which we shall hereafter relate) of lamentable perverseness and duplicity. The parliament, anxious to prevent his obtaining aid from this country, resenting the assistance he had already received after the Cessation, and also apprehending the result of a further treaty, which might end in placing Ormonde at the head of the moderate party of the confederates, entered into a nearer understanding with Monroe and the army of Ulster, to whom they sent an immediate supply, at the same time ordering them to commence certain hostile movements, at the same time that their faithful officer Coote in the west, was directed to reduce Sligo.

The Scotch, who had been latterly wavering and on the point of coming to an understanding with Ormonde, were happy to close with terms so desirable; and active hostilities were thus commencing while a dilatory treaty of peace was arriving at its conclusion. We are now brought to the year 1645, in which these combinations reached their effective results. At this time, the cabinet of Rome alarmed by the reports of a peace in which the confederates were to abandon the cause of the church, and to be united under a leader not in its interests, sent over the nuncio Rinuncini, with a view still more effectually to arrest in their progress proceedings so ungrateful to the policy of his court. Rinuncini had received for the purpose of his mission £12,000 from the pope, of which he expended the half in arms and military stores, and remitted the remainder to Ireland. After considerable delays in France, where it was attempted by the queen of England and her friends to cajole him from all his purposes, he reached this country in July, and lost no time in protesting against any peace not framed at Rome, or in any way opposed to the interests of the pope. He objected to any treaty with the marquess of Ormonde, recommended union and the strenuous prosecution of war, without regard to the king or any thought of peace. He urged the expediency and necessity of looking to the pope as their only support and head; but as there was a very strong party opposed to these views, and as the general sense of the confederates was in favour of the course against which he thus declared, it became necessary to look for some other force to counterbalance this temper, and to overawe the Irish laity into compliance: and for this he had recourse to O'Neile.

We have thus arrived (by a forced march,) to the year 1645, when Monroe, with the army under his orders, had been induced to decide for the parliament. Owen O'Neile was especially recommended to

the nuncio by many considerations. He was not alone a leader of tried ability commanding a strong force, but he was discontented with a treaty of which the conclusion was to be also the end of his own expectations; his interest was the prolongation of a war, which, under the name of a restoration, would put him into possession of lands, once the property of his ancestors. The force he had collected was composed of a most dissolute class of persons, who had no home or means of subsistence, and chiefly maintained themselves by irregular service, either as soldiers or robbers, as occasion served; they were zealous for the continuance of war, which afforded their subsistence, and only desired to avail themselves to the fullest of its opportunities for plunder. These were easily collected, and were the more adapted to the immediate views of the nuncio, as they were deeply incensed against the moderate party, who were then preponderant in the council, and had been so provoked by their atrocities that they had ordered them to be resisted by force of arms. To their leader, therefore, Rinuncini addressed himself, and assured him that his entire means should be employed for the support of his army; and, in earnest of this promise, he gave him a considerable sum. With such strong inducements, O'Neile advanced toward Armagh.

On receiving intelligence of this, Monroe prepared to repel an advance which he felt to be an encroachment on his limits, and of which the permission must be hazardous to his further expectation of maintaining his own position of authority. He marched towards the city of Armagh, and learned on his way that the troops of Owen O'Neile were encamped at Benburb, a place nearly six miles from Armagh, and memorable for the bloody battles of which, in earlier times, it had been the scene: thither Monroe directed his march on the following morning.

O'Neile was advantageously posted between two hills, with a wood on his rear and the Blackwater on his right. He had drawn out his cavalry upon one of the hills by which his position was flanked, when he saw the forces of Monroe, about 6000 strong, marching on the other side of the river. He had also heard of a reinforcement which was coming up to their aid from Coleraine. As the Blackwater was considered difficult to pass, O'Neile considered an immediate attack not to be expected, and that he might therefore detach a strong party to meet George Monroe, who was bringing the expected companies to join his brother. G. Monroe was advancing from Dungannon, when he saw the Irish cavalry on the approach; he was at the instant fortunately near some strongly fenced fields, in which he drew out his men so advantageously that the cavalry could not charge them. A detachment of foot was yet coming up at a distance, and it was hard to say what might be the result of their arrival; but other incidents had meanwhile occurred, a cannonade was heard in the direction of the main army, and the approaching detachment turning at the sound, hurried back upon their way.

Contrary to the expectation of Owen O'Neile, the Scotch had contrived to ford the river at a place called Battle Bridge, near Kinard, and were soon rapidly advancing in his front. To retard their approach, O'Neile sent a regiment to occupy a pass on the way, a brisk fire

from Monroe's artillery dislodged them, and they returned in good order. It was yet, in the strong and guarded position which he possessed, easy for O'Neile to prevent an immediate attack, and he resolved on delaying this event for some hours. He observed, that the sun would towards evening be on his rear, and as it sunk towards the forest, present a disadvantage of the most formidable nature to the Scots, by casting its glare upon their faces. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive a circumstance more likely to decide a fight. With this view, Owen O'Neile exerted no inconsiderable skill for four hours in keeping up a succession of skirmishes, and baffling the attention of his enemy by manœuvres adapted to keep him engaged without any decided step towards a general attack. He was also in expectation of a strong party which was on its march to join him. It was near sunset when this expected reinforcement came up: Monroe had mistaken them for his brother's party, and experienced no slight vexation when he saw them join the enemy. He also saw that it was impossible now to commence the battle unless under great disadvantages, and there was even much to be apprehended should his antagonist assume the offensive. He very injudiciously ordered a retreat—than which under the circumstances described, no movement could be so certain to bring on an attack and to throw every advantage into the hands of O'Neile. The two armies were but a few hundred paces asunder, and the Scottish lines were beginning their retrogressive movement, when just as their order was irrecoverable, the Irish came rushing impetuously but in excellent order down the hill, horse and foot, and were instantaneously charging through the broken lines of Monroe's army. To render the charge more decisive, Owen had commanded them to reserve their fire until they were within a few pikes' length of the Scots, an order which they executed with perfect accuracy. Under this unexpected and terrific attack, the Scots confounded, separated, and dazzled by a nearly horizontal sun, could not of course have any hope of resistance. Their native sturdiness of character, and their habits of discipline which rendered them reluctant to fly before an enemy which they despised, much aggravated the slaughter; for scattered into groups and confused masses, they were slain in detail and without the power of resistance. Some of their parties were more fortunate than others, in being enabled to act together, but with little avail, for they were isolated, nor was there any considerable body of Monroe's army enabled to act in concert. Among the most desperate instances of protracted resistance, was that of lord Blaney, who fought at the head of his regiment of English, until he with most of his men left their bodies on the spot. Lord Montgomery was taken with 21 officers and 150 men, and 3248 of Monroe's army were reckoned on the field which was covered with the dead, while numbers more were next day killed in pursuit.* Owen O'Neile had but 70 killed and 200 wounded, a fact which if duly considered confirms this statement, and clearly indicates the absence of any regular resistance.

To render this advantage the more decisive, O'Neile became possessed of the arms of the enemy, including four good cannons, with the entire of their tents, baggage, and stores, along with 1500 draught

* Carte.

horses, and two months provisions. Monroe left his coat and wig to augment the spoil, and fled for his life to Lisnagarvey.* The consternation was great and universal through the north, and not without substantial grounds: the army of O'Neile was not quite so formidable for its military character, or for the skill of its leader, as for the dissolute character of the lawless desperadoes of which it was composed. O'Neile too had after some time appeared to have divested himself of much of the more civilized habits of European warfare, and to manifest a temper not altogether unsuited to the composition of his army. He soon felt the influence of disappointment, in finding that he was compelled to act either subordinately or in opposition to those whom he had hoped to command with the power of a dictator. He had come over to take the place and secure the rank and property of the O'Niall; but the body of the confederacy looked for a peace fatal to his hopes and looked upon him with distrust and fear; his policy was opposed by Preston, whose means and army were superior to his own, and he was reduced to be the mercenary instrument of the arrogant and shallow Rinuncini, at the beck of whose authority he was now in the moment of success compelled to abandon the inviting prospect which lay before his march. Immediately after the battle of Benburb, he received a message from the nuncio to congratulate him on the victory, and desire his presence in the vicinity of Kilkenny for the purpose of aiding him in breaking off the treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the parties opposed to it, the voice of the better and larger class of the confederates for a moment prevailed. The peace was concluded, but the herald by whom it was proclaimed, in many of the towns which he had to visit in this discharge of his office, received violent ill treatment from the mob, which was every where under the influence of the belligerent faction. No sooner did the event reach the nuncio's ears, than he sent £4000 with a supply of gunpowder to Owen O'Neile, and called a meeting at Waterford of the prelates whom he had under his more immediate control, for the purpose of taking the most violent measures to interrupt a proceeding opposed to the views of his mission. They discharged this office with a decision and violence far beyond the cautious and tempered policy of the court of Rome. Interdicts and excommunications were decreed against all who should consent to the treaty. The priests, secular and regular, who should presume to raise their voices in behalf of peace were to be suspended. The council of Kilkenny was to be deprived of all authority, and their orders were to be disobeyed under pain of excommunication.

But Rinuncini had, as we have said, overacted his part, and erred in opposite directions from his instructions. He first received a reprimand for acting contrary to the order by which he had been commanded, that in case of peace being made he should not act in any way further. In reply, Rinuncini sent over to Rome the copy of a speech which he had made to the council of Kilkenny; this brought upon him a reprimand still more severe from cardinal Pamphilio, in whose letter of May 6, 1646, he is told, "for that See would never by any positive

* Carte.

act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an heretical prince." From this maxim of theirs had arisen the great difficulties and disputes in England, about the oath of allegiance, since the time of Henry VIII., and the displeasure of the Pope was the greater, because the nuncio had left a copy of his speech with the council, which, if it came to be published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the Pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king. The nuncio was directed to "get back the original of that speech, and all copies thereof which had been spread abroad, and to take greater care for the future never to indulge such a way of talking in public conferences." This reprimand did not altogether effect the purpose of restraining the meddling and incautious temper of the nuncio, and he soon drew upon himself a further reproof, by entering too hastily into the policy of the Irish ecclesiastics, which although subservient to their Church, yet had necessarily in it some alloy of expediency. These prelates could not so abstract themselves from all the prejudices of public feeling, or from all ideas of justice and national expediency, as to act with a single and exclusive reference to the policy of the Roman See. They drew up a protest against the peace, in which they refused their consent "unless secure conditions were made, according to the oath of association, for religion, the king and the country."* For signing this, the nuncio received another instructive reproof. He was informed in a letter from cardinal Pamphilio, "that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to publick edicts of even catholic subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince; and that this conduct of his furnished pretence to her adversaries, to reflect upon her deviating from those maxims and rules to which she had ever yet adhered. The pope knew very well how difficult it was in such assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by the catholics to the king, and would therefore be satisfied if he did not show by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which for political considerations the catholics were either forced or willing to make."

The nuncio made his apology, and rested his defence on the consideration, that the oath "was sworn to by all the bishops without any scruple; and it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently have been suspected of having other views besides those of a mere nunciature; which without any such handle had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

Rinuncini did what he could to repair errors so offensive to his court, prevailing over the minds of the prelates and clergy, who were (the latter especially) inclined to more moderate views. He launched on every side the threats and thunders of the papal see; and the minds of the people were soon controlled or conciliated by the power of such effective appeals. The effect on the upper classes was different; they

* Carte, from the nuncio's narrative.

did not relinquish their anxious purpose to conclude the peace, but were in some measure compelled to yield to the storm and pursue their design with added caution. They drew up an appeal from the censures of the Italian and the bishops who supported him, but they were deterred from its publication, and subsided into inaction; they were indeed without the means for any effective proceeding—their unpaid soldiers were little disposed to obey them in opposition to their priests, and the magistrates who depended upon these for authority and in some measure for protection, were not more acquiescent. Unable to enforce by authority they endeavoured to gain their opponents by treaty, and thus, without obtaining the slightest concession they betrayed the dangerous secret of their own weakness: the entire control of the army and the conduct of the war were the least of the demands, which they received in reply from their clerical adversaries. This indeed was daily becoming less a matter at their discretion; for not only Owen O'Neile rejected their authority, but Preston had also assumed an independent tone, and made it generally doubtful with whom he meant to side. Under these circumstances an effort was made by the marquess of Ormonde to gain O'Neile, to whom he sent a relation Daniel O'Neile, to offer him the confirmation of his present commands and the custodiam of such lands of "O'Neilan," as were held by persons opposed to the king, upon the condition of his joining to bring about the peace. Owen O'Neile rejected these offers, he could not do less, he had received large sums from the nuncio, whose lavish liberality reached beyond his own means, and had already compelled him to borrow largely from the Spanish ambassador. From this liberal paymaster O'Neile had received £9000.

The marquess of Ormonde himself visited Kilkenny, in the hope to expedite by his presence the conclusion of the treaty. But he had scarcely arrived when intelligence came from several quarters of the approach of O'Neile, and it soon became sufficiently apparent, that Owen's object was to intercept his return to the capital, or to surprise him in Kilkenny. The troops of Ormonde were but a few companies, those of O'Neile were at the lowest statement 12,000 men, and daily increasing. His designs were only to be inferred from his line of march, as he was remarkable for the reserve with which he guarded the secret of his designs; but the priests who accompanied his march had communicated the fact that his course was for Kilkenny; and it was further affirmed on the same authority, that "if the lord-lieutenant would not admit of Glamorgan's peace,* they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin; that they should be 20,000 strong within a fortnight, and would in their turn plunder all places that should not join them against the peace."

On receiving these accounts the marquess hastily returned to Dublin, and had little time to spare, for he had not gone far when he received a visit from lord Castlehaven, who apprized him that both Preston and O'Neile were in league to intercept him, and were then mak-

* This refers to the secret instructions from the king to the earl of Glamorgan, to concede the utmost demands of the papal party; it is not as yet essential to the general history of events, and we shall fully state it hereafter.

ing rapid marches for that purpose. On this he pressed his march towards Leighlin bridge, that he might place the Barrow between his little company and so formidable an enemy. O'Neile pressed on to Kilcullen, and the march of the English under the command of Willoughby was for some time harassed with anxious apprehension of a surprise, for which they were but ill prepared. Among other disadvantages it was accidentally discovered that the powder which had been distributed to the soldiers, was useless and refused to explode. On inquiry it was found to be a portion of the ammunition which the Irish had been allowed to supply as part payment of the sum agreed on for the king in the articles of the cessation.

Owen O'Neile now turned towards Kilkenny, whither his employer was anxious to return in power. In common with Rinuncini, Owen had an earnest wish for vindictive retaliation, upon those by whom his own authority had been set at nought and his service rejected; and the occasion was gladly seized for such a triumph—more dear to each than any advantage over their common adversaries. On the 17th Sept., 1646, O'Neile took Roscrea; and displayed by his conduct the reality or else the deterioration of his character, by the indiscriminate butchery of man, woman, and child; lady Hamilton, sister to the marquess of Ormonde, and a few gentlemen of prominent respectability, he reserved as prisoners. He took the castle of Kilkenny on the 16th, and on the 18th Rinuncini entered the city in solemn procession. His first act was to imprison the members of the supreme council, with the exception of Darcy and Plunket. With them, such of the surrounding gentry as had favoured the peace were at the same time ordered to be arrested by Preston.

Through this favourable turn of circumstances, and supported by the devoted services of his powerful retainer O'Neile, the nuncio now found himself apparently at the height of his ambition; he appointed a council of four bishops, in whom with a few select laymen the government was declared to be vested; of these he assumed the presidency both in spiritual and temporal concerns, and in the fulness of his satisfaction, thus addressed his master, "this age has never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change, and if I was writing not a relation, but a history to your holiness, I should compare it to the most famous success in Europe, and show how true it is that every part of the world is capable of noble events, though all have not the talents necessary to bring them about. The clergy of Ireland so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom: soldiers, officers, and generals strove who should fight for the clergy, drawn partly by a custom of following the strongest side; and at last the supreme council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them, all the power and authority of the confederates devolved upon the clergy."*

In the exultation of his heart, the nuncio thought himself master of the kingdom, and among other ambitious arrangements which occupied his heated fancy, he wrote to consult the pope on the adjustment of ceremonies between himself and the person whom he should place at the

* Carte.

head of the civil government. To obtain possession of Dublin, became now the great object of his wishes. It was his desire to employ Owen O'Neile in the sole command of this important enterprise, but his counsellors knew better than he could know the danger of such a preference over Preston, who held by appointment the military command of Leinster, and would not fail to show his resentment by deserting their cause. The nuncio was made sensible of this risk and yielded: but gratified his preference by giving 9000 dollars to O'Neile, while he only gave £150 to Preston. Both these generals drew towards the metropolis. On the way many incidents took place, which strongly excited their sense of rivalry, and for a time it was a matter undecided whether they should attack each other or join their arms in the common cause.

Many circumstances which we shall have to state in detail in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, were at the same time occurring to prevent this enterprise against Dublin from being carried to any issue. We shall here, therefore, relate so much as more immediately appertains to the rebel camps. Owen O'Neile on his march to Dublin took many towns and places of strength in the Queen's county: but conducted himself in such a manner as to excite the resentment of the Leinster gentry. In consequence, they rose in arms, and joined the ranks of his rival Preston, who was generally known to have a strong leaning to the king and the duke of Ormonde, and a decided hatred to Owen O'Neile, who both hated and despised him in return. It then was for some days discussed, between Preston and his friends, whether he might not have a good chance of defeating his rival in the field. He even entered on a treaty with lord Digby, and offered, if he "might have reasonable security for his religion,"* that he would obey the marquess of Ormonde, and join his forces against O'Neile.

While this treaty was under discussion, the two armies were advancing toward Dublin. On the 9th November Preston reached Lucan, and on the 11th Owen O'Neile arrived with the nuncio. The two generals thus brought together, present a combination not unsuited for the purposes of romance: their separate views, their opposite characters, their mutual hate, and their common cause and position, offer the varied threads of moral and incidental interest, which admit of being pursued and interwoven into a many-coloured web of incident and passion. The nuncio Rinuncini, with all the strong lines of national temperament—the part he had to act—the character in which he stood: ambitious, zealous, crafty, shallow, over-reaching and deceived, confident in his real ignorance of those he had to deal with, and deceived by every surrounding indication amongst a people he could not understand, yet, not without reason, looking with contempt on their ignorance and barbarism—affords a figure not unsuited for the foreground, and for striking contrast and deep shadow of plot, scene, or group. The combinations of moral fiction are but faithful to reality: the difference is little more than that between the unrecorded incidents which pass away only to be remembered by the actors, and

* Carte

those which are brought before the eye of the world: and romance itself when true to nature, is no more than the result of incidents which are always occurring. The two Irish leaders who then occupied the town of Lucan, doubtful whether they were to attack each other in the mutual and bloody strife for pre-eminence, or march together in a common cause, about which neither of them cared, were watched by the Italian with an anxious and apprehensive eye. Seeing the mutual temper which they took little pains to disguise, he laboured to reconcile them, and to infuse a common spirit for the service which he only looked upon as the prime object of regard. "O'Neile," says Carte, "was a man of few words, phlegmatic in his proceedings, an admirable concealer of his own sentiments, and very jealous of the designs of others. Preston was very choleric, and so unguarded in his passion, that he openly declared all his resentments, and broke out even in councils of war, into rash expressions of which he had frequently cause to repent."* To reconcile these jarring opposites, was too much for the craft of Rinuncini, and the danger from their dissension seemed so great, that he saw no better resource against the consequence than to imprison Preston. But this was opposed by the secret council which he brought together to advise with on the question: they thought that by such an act, the province of Leinster would be offended, and that the army of Preston also would be likely to become outrageous in their resentment. While this matter was under discussion, O'Neile was himself in a state of no small apprehension, from the suspected designs of Preston, whose heat of temper made it more to be feared, that he might adopt some decided step. Preston was no less distrustful of the dark and brooding enmity of O'Neile; and thus while Rinuncini was labouring to reconcile them, they took more pains to guard against each others' designs, than to adopt means of offence or defence against the enemy. In this interval was anxiously discussed the lord-lieutenant's proposals for a peace, made through the earl of Clanricarde, who came forward at the desire of Preston. He offered a repeal of all penalties against the members of the church of Rome; that no alteration should be made in the possession of churches, until the king's pleasure should be made known in a general settlement; that these articles should be confirmed by the queen and prince and guaranteed by the king of France. These terms fell far short of the aims of Rinuncini, and were equally unsatisfactory, though for different reasons to Owen O'Neile. The nuncio desired nothing short of the complete subjection, temporal and spiritual, of the island to his master; Owen desired neither more nor less than the acquisition of the estates of the O'Neiles of Tyrone.

This anxious and manifold game of diplomacy, discussion, and undermining, continued from the 11th to the 16th. On this day they were met in council, and the debate ran high, when a messenger came to the door and told them, that the English forces were landed and received into Dublin.† The thread of argument was cut short, and the cobweb of intrigue broken, by a sentence—fear, and hate, and design, and ambition, stood paralyzed by the unexpected intelligence.

* Carte's Ormonde, page 589.

† Carte's Ormonde.

An instant of silence followed, in which it is probable all looked at each other, and each considered what was best for himself. Owen O'Neile started on his feet and left the room—his example was followed by Preston, and in the course of one minute from the messenger's appearance, the room was empty.

Owen O'Neile called together his troops by a cannon shot, and put them in motion, they crossed the Liffey at Leixlip, on a bridge hastily put together from the timber of houses, and marched through Meath into the Queen's county. The nuncio returned to Kilkenny. Preston signed a peace for himself; but acted so inconsistently, that it was hard to say to which side he belonged. O'Neile had now many disadvantages to encounter. Besides the danger to be apprehended from the junction of his enemy Preston, with the king's party, he had damped considerably the zeal of many of his own confederates, by the arrogance of his bearing, and by the exorbitant pretensions which had latterly begun to display themselves. His claims to the dignity and estates of the O'Neiles were offensive to Sir Phelim, as well as to Alexander Macdoneli, whose regiments were ready to desert.* The nuncio too was himself beginning to entertain fears of the vast and inordinate pretensions of his favourite general; while generally the character of the native Ulster men, by whom he was supported, was such as to convey suspicion and fear into the breast of every one of English descent. It began to be fully comprehended, that while religious creeds were made the pretext and the blind, the main object of the lower classes engaged in rebellion, as well as of their leaders, was a war of the Irish against the English, and that plunder was its real and main object. Above all the growing sense of his character and known designs had made O'Neile an object of terror to the gentry of every party: he was in possession of several counties of Leinster, where he was thoroughly feared and disliked; and the nuncio was with difficulty enabled to keep Kilkenny from his grasp.

The assembly convened in Kilkenny, to treat upon the conditions of peace, met in the beginning of 1647. We shall not need to enter here upon the questions which they entertained, or the terms which they generally agreed upon. The result was the rejection of the peace: and the marquess finding all his efforts frustrated, came at length to the decision, to give up the further management of the kingdom into the hands of the English parliament, as the last hope for the safety of the protestants and of the upper classes. A treaty with parliament was the consequence, during which the national assembly were awed into a more conceding temper, both by their apprehension of the consequences of such a result, and also by a formidable demonstration of force, under their enemy lord Inchiquin, in Munster. Thus influenced they renewed their treaty with Ormonde, whom they offered to join against the parliament—but added, that they should insist upon the terms already proposed in the late assembly. To guard against the danger of any movement of lord Inchiquin, they were compelled to have recourse to Preston, as Owen O'Neile had now thrown off all authority, and come to the resolution of adopting no cause but his own.

* Carta.

The truth is probably, that he had found the resources of the nuncio beginning to run dry: and though he still found an object in calling his army the "Pope's army," he kept an exclusive eye to the one point, of strengthening himself, and maintaining his forces by the most shameless plunder.

On the 28th July, 1647, the marquess of Ormonde having concluded his treaty with the parliament, left the kingdom. The supreme council had transferred their sittings to Clonmel, the forces under their authority were placed under the command of the earl of Antrim, and were in a state of disunion not to be suppressed by the terrors of lord Inchiquin, who was in the mean time wasting the country. An intrigue of the earl of Antrim, to set aside lord Muskerry from his share in the command, ended in the triumph of the latter, and lord Antrim was (to the nuncio's great vexation,) himself deprived of the command, which was given to his rival. This army and the gentry of Munster became at the same time so much alarmed by the conduct of Owen O'Neile, that they presented a remonstrance to the council, in which they expressed themselves strongly, affording clear ideas, at least, of the nature of the fears which he excited; for this reason we here give the passage extracted from this remonstrance by Carte. They represented "that he aimed at the absolute command of all Ireland; that he had his partisans in all the provinces; that he had levied a vast army above the kingdom's force, to execute his ambitious views; that he had obeyed no orders, either of the assembly or council, but what he pleased; that he had slighted their commands, particularly in the affair of Athlone, and in several other instances; that Terence O'Bryen was, under pretence of his authority, actually raising forces in breach of the express orders of the council, and others were doing the like in other places; that since the tumult at Clonmel, messengers had been sent by those who made it, to invite him and his army to their assistance; that his forces acted as enemies, interrupting husbandry, plundering all before them, and leaving nothing behind them but desolation and misery; that Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties had been ruined by the incursions of his forces, who gave out terrible threats of extirpating the English Irish; and their clergy (whose army they boasted themselves to be,) talked after the same manner; that having complained to the nuncio of the friars, who to pave the way for O'Neile and his partisans to be masters of the kingdom, had sowed discontent and sedition in the army, and thrown unjust and groundless suspicions and scandals upon the designs and actions of well-affected persons, no punishment had yet been inflicted, nor any mark of ignominy put upon them to deter others from the like licentiousness."* On this occasion, the gentry of Munster declared that while they adhered firmly to their church, yet that they would prefer joining Ormonde, Clanricarde, or the Grand Turk,† to the risk of being plundered and oppressed by O'Neile and his army. Under this apprehension, they entreated that their province should be put into a state of defence against the intrusion of that army, and that O'Neile should be strictly enjoined not to enter on its confines, and

* Carte, vol. II. p. 3.

† Ibid.

declared a rebel if he should disobey the injunction. They were with some difficulty appeased by the council.

In the province of Leinster, the same terror of O'Neile existed. His character which had developed itself under the influence of growing ambition, and in the use of evil means for evil ends, was beginning to be felt; his virtues were lost to public apprehension, in the cloud of atrocity which surrounded his motions; his objects were misunderstood and his infirmities aggravated. He held Leinster with 12,000 foot and 1200 cavalry, a numerous band of robbers and murderers of every class, and there was a strong apprehension that he would be joined by the septs in Wexford and Wicklow. Against this fear, the great security to which all eyes in the province of Leinster had turned was the wisdom, influence, and active efficiency of Ormonde, and his departure occasioned the most general and anxious alarm in every quarter.

While thus formidably encountered by the suspicions and complaints of his nominal confederates, Owen, whom they had a little before nominated to the command of Connaught, followed, at leisure and in entire indifference, his own objects. He had the satisfaction in August to learn of a decisive defeat sustained by his enemy and rival Preston, from the parliamentary commander, colonel Jones, and laughed in his exultation, at the folly of Preston in exposing himself to such a risk. To add to his satisfaction, he was further strengthened by 2000 men from his rival's army, sent him by the direction of the council with their order, (or we should presume entreaty,) that he would march from Connaught to their protection.

The council, though then chiefly filled with adherents of Rinuncini, was strongly influenced by the force of circumstances to act in opposition to his desires; by this, the ties between him and O'Neile were for a moment restored, though Owen was an object of fear and dislike to most of the confederates. The incident here chiefly adverted to, is mentioned by Carte: a book entitled, "*Disputatio Apologetica, de jure regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis Adversus Hæreticos Anglos*," had been published in Portugal, by Cornelius Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, and widely circulated through Ireland. Its design and the effect it was adapted to produce, may be estimated from an extract in which the subject of the argument is stated, "That the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and not observing the condition of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors upon the conquest by usurpers of English or other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all the protestants, but all the Roman catholics in Ireland that stood for the crown of England, choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners."* This book was supported by the nuncio, and very generally understood to turn the eyes of the lower classes upon Owen O'Neile, as the most likely object of election to the crown. But it was so directly opposed to the principles recognised in the oath of the confederates, as well as to the feelings and interests of all but the merest

* From Carte, II. p. 17.

rabble, (yet not much above the lowest point of barbarism,) that the conduct of the confederates could not be less than decisive, and they condemned the book to be burned by the hangman in Kilkenny. This, with many such incidents, gave a strong turn to the sense of this party, and with the impression already made by the general conduct of O'Neile, together with the declarations of his friends and favourers, had much effect in rendering them the more accessible to proposals of peace.

Against this favourable disposition, the nuncio exerted all his influence and authority, and he was certainly not wanting to himself in the employment of such means as remained in his possession. His pecuniary resources had been entirely drained, but his native audacity and craft were not exhausted, and he endeavoured to obtain a preponderance in council by the creation of ten new bishops; the council objected that they had not been consecrated, and the nuncio proposed to consecrate them, but fearful that this might not be approved of in Rome, he contented himself with sending them to take their seats as spiritual peers, and thus obtained a formidable accession to his party.

The discussion of the peace was continued, and while the nuncio and the friends of O'Neile were violent in their opposition, the strong majority was in its favour. An amusing effort was made to turn the odds upon this question, by claiming for nine Ulster delegates the partisans of O'Neile, sixty-three votes, on the ground that this was the number necessary to represent Ulster, while on account of the war, nine only could be found to attend;—a curious oversight and not unlike that amusing species of Irish humour which has by a common error been stigmatized by the name of blunder. The scheme was unsuccessful, and the only obstacle recognised by the assembly was to be found in the entire want of any authorized party to treat with. The council agreed that peace alone could save the country from ruin, and it was at last decided to send agents to France, Spain, and Rome. Into the particulars of this mission, it is not necessary to enter: all the parties had their private objects, and were prepared with their ostensible commissions; their journey was to little purpose. But the nuncio still continued the most strenuous and unremitting efforts to suppress or neutralize every proceeding which had for its object any treaty of peace unless on the terms proposed by himself, and in his eagerness to attain the object of his ultimate ambition, the cardinal's hat, he continually pressed beyond the line of discretion strictly marked out in his instructions, so that his chance of success was by no means improving in either respect. Without gaining the approbation of the pope, he was daily losing the respect of his own party; the court of Rome desirous to avoid embroiling itself with the other courts of Europe, disapproved of the indiscreet exposition of its policy thus afforded on so public a stage, and would have recalled their nuncio long before, but for the violent misrepresentations which led them to overrate the prospects of ultimate success. The Irish nobles, gentry, priests and prelates, were, with the exceptions always to be found in large constituent bodies, all sensible of the folly, ignorance and danger of his counsels, and of the entire futility of his hopes. The council was beginning to meet his remonstrances with indifference, and when he failed in his efforts to induce that body to declare against the Ces-

sation which he was so anxious to break, as the last hope of preventing the conclusion of peace, he stole out of the town to join O'Neile at Maryborough.

The council sent messengers to invite him back, and with an offer which it is difficult to regard as sincere, they proposed to break off the treaty and invest Dublin, if he would send them £20,000; while they must have been aware that he was bankrupt in resources long since, and had already gone to the extent of his credit by large and frequent loans. But it is also evident that his conjunction with Owen O'Neile was the most mischievous proceeding that at the moment could well be conceived, and must have excited their utmost apprehension. The nuncio, with the pertinacity of his character replied, "that the generals of the Leinster and Munster armies should be displaced; that the Ulster army should be regularly paid, and assigned good quarters; that the clergy and their adherents in Munster should have satisfaction given them as to the civil government; that all governors and military officers should take an oath, neither to move, do, or agree to any thing that might be deemed to their prejudice, without leave from the clergy; and that the council should swear they would not suffer any peace to be made, but such an one as agreed with the instructions given to the agents sent to Rome." On receiving this message, the council saw the inutility of temporizing further, and signed a confirmation of the Cessation to be observed until the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The nuncio had recourse to his usual methods, and when his declaration against their proceedings were taken down, and the prelates themselves resisted his menaces and entreaties, he brought together the titulars of Ross, Cork, and Down, who still adhered to him, and launched an excommunication against all persons, and an interdict against the towns which should receive the Cessation. The council appealed from his censures, and were joined by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses. They were even supported by the whole orders of Jesuits and Carmelites, and considerable numbers of other orders in the province. On the former occasion already related, he had been as zealously joined by the clergy of his persuasion, as he was now firmly and unanimously resisted; these persons, zealous for the interests of their order but clear-sighted and humane, had begun to see the folly of their blind and hot-headed leader, the hopelessness of the cause, and the mischief of its further present prosecution. These defections might have made a wiser and cooler headed man sensible that he had gone too far; but the nuncio was little accessible to the warning of circumstances, and insensible to all considerations but those of ambition, pride, and resentment which engrossed his heart. The difficulties of his position were daily increasing—his coffer was empty, the Spanish agent was suing him for 100,000 crowns taken by his ship from a Spanish vessel in the Bay of Biscay, under the pretext of its being English property, instead of which it was sent by the Spanish court for the payment of the army in Flanders. The leaders also of troops in the interest of the confederates had provided against excommunication, by the precaution of collecting those who were indifferent about it.

Under these circumstances, O'Neile retired into Connaught, and

thence to Ulster, to collect his men, and recruit their numbers. He had been abandoned by Sir Phelim, by lords Iveagh, and Alexander Macdonell, and now turned out of his way to attack them in Birr which they garrisoned. But general Preston marched against him, on which he raised the siege and retired. The nuncio meanwhile, endeavoured to effect in Connaught those purposes which had so entirely failed in the provinces of Munster and Leinster. Here too he was doomed to be signally disappointed; for, though joined everywhere by the populace, who were (as they ever are) actuated by the love of change and of tumult, the clergy manifested no disposition to enter into his views. He summoned them to a meeting in Galway, but a prohibition from the council was enough to prevent a compliance; he was openly opposed by the titular bishop of Tuam: and the marquess of Clanricarde, after remonstrating with him on the vanity and wickedness of the headlong course he pursued, regularly besieged him in Galway, where he had as usual made a strong but low party among those on whom his misrepresentations could impose; but thus besieged, the Galway citizens soon came to a just understanding of this vain man, and consented to renounce him and proclaim the Cessation. The nuncio thus foiled by Clanricarde, met also with a fresh proof of the contempt into which he was fallen among the confederacy; his Galway declaration, to which he had in vain solicited the consent of the clergy, was condemned as "wicked, malicious, and traitorous, repugnant to all laws, human and divine, and tending to the utter subversion of government both in church and state." At the same time, they publicly proclaimed Owen O'Neile a traitor, and set a price on his head.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable changes, Owen O'Neile was still as strong as ever, nor could the nuncio be altogether deprived of hope, while supported by so powerful an adherent. Making a truce with Jones and the Scots, for the purpose of saving the families of his soldiers in the north and west, he was thus enabled to march into Leinster; there he hoped to regain the ascendance which had been wrested from his grasp, and to subdue or crush the council of Kilkenny. It was his design to surprise Kilkenny, and a conspiracy was formed in that city, to betray it on his appearance, but the letters between the parties were intercepted. Thus disappointed, Owen satisfied his resentment by wasting the lands of lord Mountgarret, and being invited into Thomond, he took the castle of Nenagh, and surprised Banagher. From this he besieged Athy, but the appearance of Preston forced him to retire. The places he had taken were recovered by the earl of Inchiquin, and having encamped at a pass in Ballaghnon, ("since called Owen Roe's pass"),* to cut off the provisions from Inchiquin's camp; the two armies lay for a fortnight in sight of each other, and Owen narrowly escaped a defeat, on which he stole away in the night and left an empty camp to his enemies.

We have in this memoir hitherto endeavoured to follow the course of the events mainly affecting the fortunes of Owen O'Neile, and of the nuncio Rinuncini, with whom he was throughout connected, considering that thus we should take the most appropriate occasion to

* Carte.

offer a more distinct account of a person so conspicuous for the part he acted in this eventful juncture. The union between these two remarkable persons was now approaching its close. The marquess of Ormonde at last returned once more to Ireland, to urge forward the treaty for peace, and it was concluded on January 17th, 1649. The death of the king was followed by the proclamation of his son, through all the towns in Ireland; and Rinuncini, who had exhausted all his resources and all his arts, and still lingered hoping against hope, and though defeated still returning to the vain trial—at last began in these decisive events to perceive the inutility of a further struggle against the strong current, and resolved to depart until he should be enabled to enter the field with fresh resources and increased authority. Leaving his last instructions to Owen O'Neile to be firm and faithful, and to hold out for the Pope till his return, he embarked in his own ship in Galway, and on the 2d March landed in Normandy.

The history of O'Neile may now be briefly pursued to its termination. Only desirous to preserve the armed posture on which all his prospects were dependent, and ready to join with all parties whose views tended to war, and might sustain his military importance, he formed an alliance with Jones the general of the independents; and by this step, contrived to preserve his affairs for some time, and to maintain a large body of men at the expense of the parliamentary general. In this position he was courted by both parties, and in turn listened and consented to each. Owen continued for some time to co-operate with the parliamentary generals; but after having performed considerable services in the north, he soon discovered that he was held in contempt by his new allies, who purchased his assistance from necessity alone. In consideration of 2000 cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, where Coote, who held that city for the parliament, was besieged.* The alliance between these leaders and their Irish mercenary was explicitly censured by the parliament, which refused to confirm the articles of their treaty with him. He was compelled to retire, and presently received proposals from the marquess of Ormonde, to declare for the king; he consented, and soon after came to an agreement to act with that nobleman against his late ungrateful patrons.

So early as February 20th, 1649, letters of credence had been signed by him, by the bishop of Clogher, and by general Farrel, empowering F. Nugent, a capuchin, to assure the king of his submission upon the condition of their being included in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, and of O'Neile's commanding an army under his majesty's authority, provided for in the same manner as the rest of his majesty's forces, and being advanced to the dignity of an earl.† So far he was at length seemingly in view of the main object of all his labours. In the mean time, his engagement with the parliamentary leaders had taken place; and it was not till the affront, here mentioned, exposed the vanity of all expectations from the independents, that he returned to a party which his natural sagacity must have perceived to be the weaker. On the 12th October, he signed

* Borlase.

† Carte.

articles with Ormonde, by which he engaged to bring an army to his assistance

His death saved him from a sad and rapid reverse, and in all probability from a disgraceful end. From the parliamentary leaders who were so soon to change the current of events, he could not even expect the poor compromise of being allowed to live. His character seems to have been vastly overrated by his countrymen : nor have we been enabled to find ground for unqualified praise even on this least questionable pretension, that of military talent. He was assuredly discreet and sagacious; and if he was not free from the excitement of the vindictive passions, they did not at least carry him so far as in any instance to lose sight of interest or safety. Of any of the higher principles of action, which govern and dignify the deeds of great men, he was utterly devoid; a consistent and steady adoption of every friendship and every party which manifested the power and will to promote his own personal ends, was the virtue of his life—a virtue, only to be so named in a very enlarged acceptance of the term, as it implies nothing either honourable or good. Of the sincerity of his religious professions we cannot form any estimate, and must presume them sincere, though his religion had no power to elevate his conduct, he was not less disinterested or less beneficent in the ends for which he acted, or the means by which he sought them, than his spiritual patron and confederate, the Abbe Rinuccini. If upon his first appearance upon the scene of Irish affairs, his character appears to some advantage, this advantage is due to contrast with those who were less unprincipled, but more rude, barbarous, and violent than himself. The habits of a gentleman, and the manners contracted in foreign camps and courts, are, unhappily, not inconsistent with selfishness, cruelty, and vice; but they materially smooth the outward front and gestures of those deep and indelible faults of human character. The knowledge of good and evil, the fear of opinion, and the necessity of being first inured to any decided course of evil, all tend to repress superfluous outrage and retard the career of crime. Knowledge, fortunately indeed, though its power is little to “mend the heart,” has yet a strong power to repress those evil impulses of which it can unfold the consequences and point out the disgrace; yet such considerations apply only with much qualification to the actors of the time actually under review; and when by chance our pen betrays us into such distinctions, we soon must recollect that we are wandering from our purpose.

O’Neile did not live to fulfil his part of the articles last mentioned. In the beginning of December, he died at Cloghater castle, in the county of Cavan.

Having brought our readers to the development of the second act of the great rebellion, and exhibited the conflicting motives and the singular divisions and combinations of the various parties and actors engaged therein, we make a brief pause to introduce another of those families which adorn the biographies of Ireland, placing before them the third and closing act, in which one of its members bore a prominent part. We refer to those members of the Boyle family, better known in history as lords Broghill, earls of Orrery and earls of Cork.

THE BOYLES.

RICHARD BOYLE, FIRST EARL OF CORK.

BORN A. D. 1566—DIED A. D. 1643.

AMONG the many illustrious persons, who by their valour or prudence laid the foundations of the most noble families of this country, none can be named more deserving of the record of history than the first earl of Cork. By his prudence and well directed sagacity, he showed the first example of that method of improvement which was afterwards carried into more extended operation in the plantation of Ulster. Nor is posterity less indebted to his name, for the many illustrious warriors, statesmen, and philosophers, whose names are among the noblest ornaments of their generation.

The family of Boyle is of ancient and almost immemorial antiquity. Budgel, who has written their history, mentions that the ancestor from whom they are descended, was "Sir Philip Boyle, a knight of Arragon, who signalized himself at a tournament," in England, in the reign of Henry VI. But the heralds trace the family in the county of Hereford, so far back as Henry III., and as they confirm their deductions by the full details of personal history, we think it fair to acquiesce in their account.

In the reign of Henry VI., Ludovic Boyle, of Bidney, in Herefordshire, left two sons, John and Roger. The second of these left four sons, of whom one, Michael, was afterwards bishop of Waterford, and another, Roger, was father to the illustrious person whose life we are here to relate. In the discharge of this task, our labour is lightened by the existence of a memoir of himself, which the earl has left. This document has, of course, found a place in every notice of the Boyle family; but we do not for this reason think it can properly be omitted. It follows at full length :—"My father, Mr Roger Boyle, was born in Herefordshire; my mother Joan Naylor, daughter of Robert Naylor, of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, Esq., was born there, 15th of October, 1529; and my father and mother were married in Canterbury, 16th of October, 1564; my father died at Preston, near Feversham in Kent, 24th March, 1576; my mother never married again, but lived ten years a widow, and then departed this life at Feversham, aforesaid 20th March, 1586; and they are both buried in one grave, in the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of Preston. In memory of which, my deceased and worthy parents, I their second son, have, in anno 1629, erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place where they were buried, with an iron grate before it, for the better preservation thereof.

"I was born in the city of Canterbury, (as I find it written by my father's own hand) 3d October, 1566. After the decease of my father and mother, I being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennet's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple; finding my means unable to support me to study the

laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, knight, lord chief baron of her majesty's court of exchequer, where I served as one of his clerks; and perceiving that my employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign kingdoms, and to gain learning, knowledge, and experience, abroad in the world. And it pleased the Almighty, by his Divine Providence to take me I may say, just as it were by the hand, and lead me into Ireland, where I happily arrived at Dublin on Midsummer eve, the 23d of June, 1588.

"I was married at Limerick to Mrs Joan Apsley, one of the two daughters, and co-heirs of William Apsley of Limerick, Esq., (one of the council to the first president of the province of Munster,) 6th Nov., 1595, who brought me £500 lands the year, which I still enjoy, it being the beginning and foundation of my fortune; and she died at Moyallow, 14th Dec., 1599, in travail of her first child, which was born a dead son, and both of them were buried in Buttevant church.

"When I arrived at Dublin, all my wealth was then £27 3s. in money and two tokens, which my mother had formerly given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a bracelet of gold, worth about £10; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches, laced; a new MILAN fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries; with my rapier and dagger. And 23d of June, 1632, I have served my God, queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles, full forty-four years in Ireland, and so long after as it shall please God to enable me.

"When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war; Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the king's bench; Sir Robert Dillon, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught; being displeased for some purchases which I had made in the province, they all joined together, and by their letters complained against me to queen Elizabeth, expressing, 'That I came over a young man, without any estate or fortune; and that I had made so many purchases, as it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies on the sea side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbies fraternities, and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually; and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions.' Whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself; but before I could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke forth. All my lands were wasted, as I could not say that I had one penny of certain revenue left me to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God so preserved me, as I recovered Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the middle temple, intending to renew my studies in the laws till the rebellion was passed over.

"Then Robert, earl of Essex, was designed for the government of this kingdom, unto whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony

Bacon; whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in suing out his patent and commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaint to the queen's majesty against me; whereupon by her majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and, although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close constraint was continued till the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained of her sacred majesty the favour to be present at my answers; where I so fully answered, and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications of my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words: 'By God's death, all these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestall him therein: but we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer.' And, arising from council, gave order not only for my present enlargement, but also discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily; humbly thanking God for that great deliverance.

"Being commanded by her majesty to attend at court, it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of clerk of the council of Munster,* and to commend me over to Sir George Carew (after earl of Totness), and then lord-president of Munster; whereupon I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship, called 'the Pilgrim,' into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long sea, and arrived at Carrigfoile in Kerry, where the lord-president and the army were then at the siege of that castle; which, when we had taken, I was there sworn clerk of the council of Munster; and presently after made a justice of peace and quorum throughout all that province. And this was the second rise that God gave to my fortunes.

"Then as clerk of the council, I attended the lord-president in all his employments; waited on him (who assisted lord-deputy Mountjoy) at the whole siege of Kingsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of the happy victory (obtained over the Irish under the earl of Tyrone and the Spaniards, 24th of December, 1601); in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court; for I left my lord-president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty

* Lodovic Briskett surrendered that office 31st March, 1600, to the intent the queen might give it to Mr Boyle, together with the custody of the signet for the province whereof he had a grant by patent, dated 8th of May following.

in her bedchamber; who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me, that *she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of the glorious victory.* And after her majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she gave me again her hand to kiss, and commanded my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour.

"At my return into Ireland, I found my lord-president ready to march to the siege of Beerhaven castle, then fortified and possessed by the Spaniards and some Irish rebels, which after battering we had made assaultable, entered, and put all to the sword. His lordship then fell to reducing these western parts of the province to subjection and obedience to her majesty's laws; and, having placed garrisons and wards in all places of importance, made his return to Cork; and in the way homewards acquainted me with his resolution to employ me presently into England, to obtain license from her majesty for his repair to her royal presence; at which time he propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, which, by his assistance, and the mediation of Sir Robert Cecil, was perfected, and this was a third addition and rise to my estate.

"Then I returned into Ireland with my lord-president's licence to repair to court; and by his recommendation was married, 25th July, 1603, to my second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Jeffray Fenton, principal secretary of state, and privy counsellor, in Ireland, on which day I was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord-deputy of Ireland, at St Mary's abbey, near Dublin."

This memoir is said to have been written in the year 1632, when the noble writer had reached his 67th year; he was at the time lord Boyle, baron Youghall, viscount Dungarvon, earl of Cork, and lord high treasurer of Ireland.

In 1603 he was, as this memoir states, married to his second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton. Of this marriage the following curious origin is mentioned by some writers, on the authority of the countess of Warwick, in whose life it has been inserted. While yet a widower, Sir Richard Boyle, had, according to this story, occasion to pay a visit of business to Sir Geoffry Fenton, master of the rolls. Sir Geoffry was engaged, and Boyle was detained for a long time; during which he amused himself by playing with Sir Geoffry's little daughter, then about two years old. When Sir Geoffry came, he apologized for having detained Mr Boyle so long; but was answered by Mr Boyle, that he had been courting his little daughter, with the design to make her his wife. Fenton took up the jest, and the conversation ended in a serious engagement, that the match should be concluded when the young lady should attain a marriageable age.* And, as the tale runs, they both fulfilled their promises. Of this account, there is no reason to reject so much as merely involves a common play of speech; the rest is not admitted as correct by Lodge; nor is it reconcileable with the dates

* Postscript appended to Budget's Memoir. The assertion of the countess of Warwick goes farther still, "that he was a widower when his lady, by whom he had a numerous issue, was in her nurse's arms."

given by the earl himself, in the narrative already cited; as his first wife's death occurred in 1599, and his second marriage in 1603.

In March 12, 1606, he was sworn privy counsellor for the province of Munster; and on 15th February following, for all Ireland. After several other lesser advancements and changes, he was, on 6th September, 1616, created lord Boyle, baron of Youghall. Of this promotion, the reasons assigned are not merely those military services enumerated in most of the patents we have hitherto had occasion to notice. Boyle is commended for the judicious erection of forts and castles, and the establishment of colonies at his own cost, and it may be added, for his own great advantage, without questioning the further asseverations of the record, which proceeds to say, that all those districts surrounding his properties were, by his prudence and industry, become more civilized, wealthy, and obedient to the law.

In 1620, lord Boyle was advanced to the dignities of viscount Dungarvon, and earl of Cork.

In 1629, his lordship and lord chancellor Loftus were sworn lords-justices. In 1631, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and continued in the government till the arrival of lord Strafford.

Of lord Strafford we have already expressed our opinions; the principle of his general policy was just and comprehensive: but it must be allowed to have been harsh, unbending, and often unjust to individuals. If in the prosecution of his public aims, he was incorrupt and no respecter of persons; he was arrogant, domineering, and heedless of every consideration, by which more scrupulous minds are controlled. Such a disposition was, as we have endeavoured to show, not unsuited to the actual condition of the country, at the time; and had the irrespective principle of his policy been thoroughly maintained, there would have been less reason to complain. But this he found impracticable; and in yielding to influences and to circumstances which he could not control, his stern and overbearing temper became tyrannical to a party, and oppressive to individuals. In abandoning a portion of his extreme and rigorous course, he gave a triumph to the popular party, and diffused terror among its opponents. To the leaders of the protestant party, such a line of conduct could not fail to be offensive, as it was alarming: to these his hostility was early shown by the arrogance of his deportment to many of the most influential and distinguished of the Irish aristocracy. To the earl of Cork, his conduct was insolent, oppressive, and illegal. This earl had commenced a suit at law, to which Strafford thought fit to interpose his authority, and commanded that the earl of Cork should call in his writs, "or if you will not, I will clap you in the castle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders disputed by law nor lawyers," such was the intolerable mandate of this despotic minister. This incident derives some added importance from the fact, that not long after, when Strafford was tried for his life before the lords, it was brought forward against him; and the earl of Cork summoned over to England to give his testimony. The earl was a man unquestionably of a noble and manly nature; but generosity was not among the virtues of that day of rapine, intrigue, and political baseness; and it will perhaps be no wrong to him to say, that he must have felt, on that occasion, the triumph of his party, in

giving his testimony against the most formidable oppressor they had then had to encounter.

The rebellion broke out in 1641; and though long expected by every class, spread terror and dismay through the country; hatred, distrust, and terror, seized the public mind; havoc and desolation began their well-known progress, with far more than their wonted fury. But such had been the effect of the earl's care, skill, and liberality in the extensive plantations he had made, that the waves of popular frenzy were retarded in their approaches to the county of Cork. On this occasion he fortified his castle of Lismore, which he garrisoned with an hundred horse and an hundred foot, and placed under the charge of his son, lord Broghill. His son lord Kynalmeaky, he placed in the command of Bandon bridge, a town erected by himself, and of which the walling and fortifying cost him fourteen thousand pounds, where he maintained a hundred horse and four hundred foot. The earl himself, at the earnest entreaty of the lord-lieutenant, took upon him the defence of the important town of Youghall, which was the only retreat left for the protestants in that part of the kingdom. There the earl, with his son, lord Dungarvon, his troop of cavalry, and two hundred of his own tenants, took his dangerous position; which he thus describes in a letter to lord Goring, "encompassed with an innumerable company of enemies, and have neither men, money, or munition. We are now at the last gasp; and, therefore, if the state of England do not speedily supply us, we are all buried alive. The God of heaven guide the hearts of the house of parliament to send us speedy succours; for if they come not speedily they will come too late."* We here give another extract from the same letter, as it affords a very distinct view of the general alarm of that appalling time. "This came last night about midnight, from my son, Broghill, who hath the guard of my house at Lismore; whereby you will truly understand the great danger my son, house, and all that ever I had, in effect, is in; whom I beseech God to bless and defend; for the enemies are many, and he not above a hundred foot and threescore horse in my house to guard the same. All the English about us are fled, save such as have drawn themselves into castles, but are but few in effect, and they very fearful. All the natives that are papists, (the rest being few or none) are in open action and rebellion. Except the lord Barrimore, who behaves himself most loyally and valiantly. But alas! what is he with his forces amongst so many, when the whole kingdom is out."†

At this time Kilkenny had been taken without a blow by the rebel lord Mountgarret, and the countess of Ormonde made a prisoner in her husband's castle; Cashel and Ferrers had surrendered; the protestant inhabitants in all these towns were stripped and turned out naked by the captors, "in such a barbarous manner as is not to be believed."‡ Clonmel threw open her gates, "and let in the rebels to despoil the English," &c.

The earl soon made himself especially an object of attack by his vigilant and efficient activity and prudence. A letter, which he

* Letters of the Earl of Cork, among the State Letters of Roger Earl of Orrery.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

addressed to the speaker of the English house of commons, will not only give a just notion of the weakness of the enemy, but affords a strong confirmation of some remarks which we have already offered as to the cause. "Sir, I pray you give me leave to present unto yourself and that honourable house, that this great and general rebellion broke forth in October last, at the very instant I landed here out of England; and though it appeared first at Ulster, yet I (who am threescore and sixteen years of age, and have eaten the most part of my bread in Ireland, these four and fifty years) and by reason of my several employments and commands in the government of this province and kingdom, could not but apprehend that the infection and contagion was general and would by degrees quickly creep into this province as forthwith it did. And for that I found to my great grief, that by the courses the late earl of Strafford had taken, all, or the greatest part of the English and protestants in this province were deprived of their arms, and debarred from having any powder in their houses, and the king's magazines here being so weakly furnished, as in a manner they were empty; I without delay furnished all my castles in these two counties, with such ammunition as my poor armoury did afford, and sent £300 sterling into England to be bestowed on ammunition for myself and tenants," &c., &c.*

We shall here pass the further notices contained in this correspondence, of which we shall make further use hereafter. The earl lost his son, lord Kinalmeaky, in these wars; he was slain at the head of his troop in the battle of Liscarrol, in which three of his brothers were at the same time engaged, lord Dungarvon, and Broghill, and Francis Boyle.

In July, 1642, the earl was empowered and commissioned as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Cork, to hold quarter sessions for the trial of the rebels for high treason, at which eleven hundred were indicted.

The earl had, in the course of these two years, exhausted his means, and reduced himself to the lowest condition of distress, by his free and liberal contributions to the war. His estates were nevertheless the most thriving in the kingdom; his improvements were the most extensive, costly, and in their character the most well planned and public spirited; his churches, hospitals, schools, bridges, castles, and towns, would require pages to enumerate, so as to convey any adequate idea to the reader. Cromwell's remark is well known, and considering the speaker, conveys more than the most detailed enumeration. "That if there had been an earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."† A remark elicited by his astonishment on seeing the prodigious improvements effected by the earl in the county of Cork.

The earl did not long survive these troubles, or live to see the end of this long and disastrous war; he attained the mature age of 77, but his period may perhaps have been abridged by the fatigues, anxieties, and afflictions attendant on the last two years previous to his death. This event occurred in 1643, in the month of September, at Youghall. He was interred in his chapel within the parish church.

* State Letters, &c.

† Cox.

ROGER, EARL OF ORRERY.

BORN A. D. 1621.

THIS distinguished nobleman was the third son of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, commemorated in the preceding pages. At the age of fifteen, we are informed, he entered the university of Dublin, from which he was in a few years sent by his father, to travel on the continent—then, when the means of acquiring a knowledge of the world from any means short of actual observation, were far less than in later times, the only resource for the accomplishment of a man of the world.

Under the care of a Mr Markham, he made the tour of France and Italy, and profited so much by the extended means of intercourse and communication thus afforded, that his appearance at the English court was greeted by general admiration and respect: nor was employment slow in following. The earl of Northumberland gave him the command of his own troop in the expedition against Scotland; while, by the interest of the earl of Strafford, whose regard is of itself a high testimony of desert, he was created baron Broghill, 28th February, 1627.

During his long sojourn in England, he married the lady Margaret Howard, sister to the earl of Suffolk; and with her arrived in Ireland on the opening of the troubles of 1641, and proceeded with his lady to his father's castle of Lismore, which they gained without any alarm, as the breaking out of rebellion was not yet known in Munster.

A few days after, he was invited by the earl of Barrymore, his brother-in-law, to dine at Castlelyons, where he met his father, the earl of Cork, lord Muskerry, and other neighbouring gentry. On this occasion it was that a messenger, arriving just before dinner, brought intelligence to the earl of Cork, that the Irish were in rebellion, and had taken possession of the entire country through which he had come. All scattered to their respective homes to prepare for defence, or to meditate the course they were to follow. The immediately succeeding events we have already told in more than one memoir, but more especially in that of the earl of Cork. In these lord Broghill bore his full share, and conducted himself so as to have acquired increased reputation for courage, sagacity, and military talent.

During the progress of the ensuing protracted struggle, in which, for a time, it became a question of difficulty to decide between the respective claims of the several parties who were contending in arms on the pretext of loyalty, or in the name of government, lord Broghill's straight-forward common sense easily disentangled him from the perplexity of a sanction, which, on the one side, was false and fraudulent; and on the other had lost its vitality. He readily saw that the king's authority could not be supported, that his cause was not maintained; and that, while his friends were compelled to keep up a vain struggle against every impediment, the rebels, who had assumed the pretext of his name, were overwhelming with imputation a cause for which

they had little solicitude: the better interests of the country would be meanwhile destroyed by a ruinous and wasteful continuation of a warfare, which was not decided by soldiers on the field, but by the rival plunderings, burnings, and devastations of those vast mobs, which, under the name of armies, acted the part of locusts. This hapless condition of the country was daily becoming more apparent, and its real consequences more clearly visible: the marquess of Ormonde, whose strong zeal, and firm will had throughout endeavoured to stem the rush of coming ruin, at last retired from a post which he had to the last moment of possibility held with strong fidelity; and the most devoted sacrifice of self. The parliament now sent over their commissioners to conduct the war. Of their power to crush rebellion, and restore the country to the repose which was become necessary to its existence, there could be no doubt: although to those who were most fully aware of the spirit in which they acted, it was perhaps known that they were in no hurry to effect such an object, nor likely to take any very effectual step until they should first have obtained the completion of their ends at home.

By lord Broghill, still a very young man, and not versed in the secret of their policy, it was naturally expected that as they had shown some desire to assume the control of the war in Ireland, that they would act with their known resource and vigour to reduce the country to quiet. Accordingly, lord Broghill, as well as many other of the royalist lords, acted for some time under the parliamentary commanders.

On the trial and execution of king Charles, the zealous loyalty of lord Broghill was too violently shocked to admit of compromise with his murderers, on any ground of expediency. He left the service, and abandoning the country, retired to Marston, his seat in Somersetshire, where he remained in quiet, and free from all public concerns, for some time.

At last, like every active-minded man, he grew weary of repose: he had also frequently reflected upon the heavy loss of his Irish estate; and probably, though with less reason, thought the time arrived when some effort in favour of the young king might be attended with success. By whatever motives he was actuated, he came to the decided resolution to see the King himself, and to obtain his commission to raise forces in Ireland in his behalf; and, as his biographer adds, "to recover his own estate." With this intent he raised as large a sum of money as he could command, and applied to the earl of Warwick, whose interest stood high, to obtain for him a passport to Spa, as he wished to go abroad for the benefit of his health.

Full of this intention, he went home to make the preparations necessary for his voyage; but he had not been many days there when he was somewhat startled by a visit from a strange gentleman who came from Cromwell, to say that he wished to visit lord Broghill, and desired to know when it would be most convenient to his lordship to receive him. Lord Broghill, in great surprise, at first expressed his opinion that there must be some mistake, as he was quite unknown to the lord-general, and had not for a long time been engaged in any public concern. Upon being convinced however that there could be no mistake, he returned a message that he would himself attend the general whenever he should desire. The gentleman retired, and lord Broghill was

left alone to consider what course would be most prudent to adopt—whether to await a further communication from a person whose acts were known to be so prompt and decided, or in the interval to proceed while yet free upon his way. He was not however allowed to decide for himself. He was yet wrapped in the perplexity of his situation, when his meditations were once more interrupted by the sudden entry of Cromwell. The lord-general then informed him, that “the committee of state were apprized of his design of going over and applying to Charles Stewart for a commission to raise forces in Ireland: and that they were determined to make an example of him, if he himself had not diverted them from that resolution.”* Lord Broghill was endeavouring to evade the necessity of admitting the accusation, and trying to impose on the general by protestations of a very general nature, when Cromwell drew from his pocket a parcel of papers, which he silently put into his hand: on looking at these lord Broghill was astonished to perceive that they were copies of his own letters to different persons to whom he had confided his purpose. On this, lord Broghill saw that it was useless any longer to persist in the attempt to baffle the general, and confessed the whole, thanking Cromwell for his protection. Cromwell assured him that though, till then, unacquainted with him personally, he was no stranger to the high reputation he had earned in the Irish wars; and that as he was himself now appointed by the parliament to command in Ireland, he had obtained leave from the committee to offer his lordship the command of a general, if he would serve in that war; “and that he should have no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but Irish rebels.”† An instant’s consideration was perhaps enough to show lord Broghill that nothing could be more favourable to his own interest; nor, considering the actual state of affairs, could there be a more useful or honourable direction given to his activity and talent. Yet the sense of party feeling was to be overcome, and lord Broghill asked for time. Cromwell told him that he must decide at the moment, as the committee, which was yet sitting, awaited his return, and on hearing of lord Broghill’s hesitation, would instantly commit him to the Tower. Lord Broghill then gave way, and assured Cromwell that he would faithfully serve him against the Irish rebels. He was then desired to proceed to Bristol, and there await the troops which should follow, with transports sufficient to convey them across the channel. Cromwell assured him further, that he would himself speedily follow.

Lord Broghill followed these directions, and every thing having been quickly provided, according to Cromwell’s promise, he was soon once more in Ireland. Here his reputation was high, and he was quickly enabled to add materially to the few soldiers he had brought over: a troop of cavalry, entirely composed of gentlemen, and fifteen hundred well appointed infantry, enabled him to present a formidable appearance; till on the 15th August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Wexford, with an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand cavalry two hundred thousand pounds in money, and an abundant store of all

* Budgel’s Memoirs of the Boyle Family.

† Budgell.

military materials; and thus commenced the *last* scene of this deep drama of blood.

The landing of Cromwell put an end to all hopes on the part of those who separated from the rebels as from the parliamentarians, had till then hoped, by winning over some of the more moderate, and availing themselves of that general desire for peace which was beginning to pervade the better classes, to be enabled to gain a party in favour of the king. By the appearance of Cromwell's army, such hopes were soon banished from the land with those who held them. The earl of Ormonde, still resolving to hold on to the last extremity, but having no resources left after the wreck of many brave and devoted efforts, now rested his last hope in the endeavour to protract matters for a time, in order to give discipline and confidence to his handful of men; he was not also without a hope that the strong parties, not more hostile to his cause than they were to each other, might in some degree balance and check others in the field, when a single blow might place no small advantage in his power. He justly considered that Drogheda would be likely to be the first object of Cromwell's attention, and prudently took measures to have it put in a defensible condition with the utmost haste. He committed it to Sir Arthur Aston, a most experienced and gallant officer, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all chosen men: he also supplied him with such provisions and ammunition as he desired. Having taken these precautions, the marquis retired to Portlester, to be in readiness for the event. It was generally expected that Drogheda would make a long and vigorous defence; and in the mean time lord Inchiquin was sent for to come from Munster to his aid. Before the message had reached its destination, Cromwell was before the walls of Drogheda.

This event occurred on the 3d September, 1649. He lay still before the town for a week—he had perhaps some expectation that the garrison might be terrified into a surrender; they on their part were far enough from fear, for Drogheda had hitherto baffled all attempts made during the last three years previous, and was thought by the Irish generally to be impregnable, unless by treachery or famine. On Sunday, the 9th of September, Cromwell sent in his summons, and on receiving Aston's refusal to surrender, opened his batteries upon the walls: from that moment a hot fire was kept up, till Tuesday at four in the afternoon, when a breach was made in St Mary's wall, which Cromwell judged sufficient for the purpose of an assault. His men were twice repulsed. The account which follows is in some degree hard to believe, but it stands upon authority* too creditable to be rejected. In the third assault, the brave soldiers who defended the town were disheartened by the fall of their leader, colonel Wall, who was killed fighting at their head. Seeing them waver, the soldiers of Cromwell assured them of quarter, and were thus admitted without further opposition. The same delusive proceeding was adopted while a single corner was to be won, and the appearance of the most humane forbearance kept up towards all who laid down their arms. But so soon as the town was secured, Cromwell was (it is affirmed,) told by Jones that

* Carte.

the flower of the Irish army was there, upon which he immediately commanded that no quarter should be given. On this a most dreadful massacre commenced, and continued while a soldier of the garrison remained. The soldiers of Cromwell are said to have shown great and manifest reluctance to execute the barbarous command; but the rigid and immovable temper of the lord-general was not one to be turned by the relentings of the multitude. The horror of this atrocious deed was increased, and its guilt aggravated, by the murder of the gallant Aston, the governor, with his officers. This frightful incident is described by the marquess of Ormonde, in a letter to the king, in which he writes, that "On this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."* Nothing can justify the deed here related, but some reasonable deductions may be made on the consideration of time and place: at the time, Ireland had been, for an interval of eight years, the scene of every atrocious crime by which human history has ever been disgraced—the ordinary social state had become one of lawless and indiscriminate war, depredation, robbery, and murder, on every scale, and on every pretence; and though to a person, during that period, intimately conversant with the country, and versed in the complex relations of its party oppositions and affinities, it might have been possible to make just distinctions, and ascertain the precise limits of right and wrong; it is well known how in the neighbouring country report confuses and exaggerates: how misrepresentations on either side, meeting with indifferent ears, combine and blacken all with mutual accusations; and while it is easy and not unpleasant to those who are at a safe distance to believe the worst, the pleas of justice or of excuse are mostly too local, personal, or limited, in character, to find their way, or to win the indolent attention of those not personally interested. In England, the acts and sufferings of Ireland were heard as the uproar of a barbarous island drunk with an inappeasable mania of murderous frenzy: and the vague horror of such an impression was heightened by the prejudices of political and religious animosity. Cromwell was too sagacious to be altogether deluded by the impression of popular ignorance, but it coloured his thoughts, and gave a direction to his policy, as regarded the affairs of a country to which but little of his mind had ever been given. It was his interest, no less than the task he had undertaken, to quell without delay the pertinacious and clinging element of destruction which must have seemed inextinguishably mixed with the very life-blood of the people. And as he perhaps was impressed with the sense, that languid operations and campaigns without result had been the main cause in protracting the state of war, in which the impunity of resistance had encouraged the aggregation of mob armies, and the reorganization of the defeated—he was not without some reason convinced of the necessity of proceeding by terror. To carry on a protracted war with the hosts of half-armed creaghts, who would scatter and reappear like mists,

* Carte.

while his resources were consuming, and flux and fever wasting away his force, were little consistent either with the probable pacification of Ireland, or his own ambitious projects. And though the course he took was an outrage upon humanity, it was not only effectual, but it may be doubted whether less rough means could have settled a country so thoroughly disorganized. The real effect of this cruel butchery upon the public mind was different from that which it would now produce on a humane age—the congenial spirit of O'Neile was rather impressed with the vigour and skill of the storm than by the atrocity of the succeeding day's work—he is represented to have sworn, "that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, if he should storm hell he would take that too!" Carte observes, that "this was certainly an execrable policy of the regicide, but it had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name—it cut off the best body of Irish troops, and disheartened the rest to such a degree that it was a greater loss in itself, and much more fatal in its consequences than the rout at Rathmines." To the same rough dealing Cromwell was not long after mainly indebted for his unimpeded march to Dublin, when obstacles sufficient to waste many months, and attended with numberless risks, were removed by the voluntary surrender of the towns and garrisons in his way. We must now return to lord Broghill. After Cromwell had proceeded south and obtained quiet possession of Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and Youghall, he sat down before Clonmel. Here Hugh O'Neile had collected 1200 chosen Ulster men, and as lord Fermoy was also known to have sent a large army of several thousand men to relieve this city, Cromwell detached lord Broghill to intercept them. Lord Broghill marched in quest of this enemy, and soon encountering a body of between four and five thousand men, he gave them a complete rout. The battle was hardly over when an express from Cromwell brought the information that he was in a most miserable condition before Clonmel, where his army was sinking under the bloody flux, and had in their exhausted condition met two severe repulses from the brave garrison. He therefore was enjoined to lose not a moment, but to lead his men to assist the lord-general in this pressing strait. Lord Broghill sent back word "that by the blessing of God he had just defeated the enemy, and would not fail to be with him in three days." He kept his word, and was received with acclamations by the besieging army; Cromwell embraced him and congratulated him upon his victory. With this reinforcement the siege was pressed on with fresh alacrity and the town was soon compelled to surrender. The garrison had been secretly withdrawn by O'Neile on the failure of provisions, and the citizens were allowed to surrender upon honourable terms.

Some time previous to the termination of the siege, which had lasted for two months, Cromwell had been recalled by the parliament, as the want of his presence was felt elsewhere. On the capitulation, he took his departure leaving Ireton as his deputy, and lord Broghill in command of a "flying camp in Munster." In this command the distinction he soon acquired was so great, and such was the general influence gained with all parties by his good sense, moderation and popular manners, that it soon became suspected that Ireton was either

envious of his reputation or doubtful of his fidelity. As these notions found tongues enough they were quickly conveyed to the ears of lord Broghill; he is indeed said to have received a letter from a Mr Lammas, who was Ireton's chaplain, advising him to take care of himself, for Ireton, notwithstanding his professions of friendship and letters of congratulation on his successes, had privately determined to destroy him. On this Mr Morrice, the authority for this statement, mentions that lord Broghill satisfied by so authoritative a warning, kept away from Ireton as long as he could; he was however under the necessity of joining him at Limerick.

The condition of the other party, if such an appellation is not inconsistent with its complex constituency, is at least characteristic of the people. While the storm that was to crush them was gradually rolling together over their heads, and the necessity of a resistance more systematic and concerted than was hitherto resorted to, was felt by every one, the efforts of Clanricarde and Castlehaven, were encumbered, retarded, and rendered inoperative, by the factious intrigues of those, who seemed more inclined to fight among themselves about questions, and play the old destructive game of civil intrigue—than to resist the common enemy. They were men who wrangled over a paltry game, while their leaky pinnacle was running into the whirlpool of destruction. Sir Charles Coote had taken Athlone and entered Connaught, and while the earl of Clanricarde was vainly endeavouring to collect an army to resist his progress, the archbishop of Armagh convened a synod, to receive father Anthony Geoghegan, who was arrived with instructions from the congregation *de Propaganda*, in Rome: their first decree was an order that no bishop should be admitted to sit in the general assembly, until he should be absolved from the nuncio's censures; they declared the duke of Lorraine protector of the kingdom, and with all the experience of ten years of social disorganization, yet impressed in traces of desolation on every side, they only thought of beginning again with the infatuation of 1642. Their immediate object was to revive the confederacy, and to this purpose their entire means, talents, and industry, were directed. Clanricarde at this time invested with the royal authority and the sole support against the parliamentary general, they considered as the great obstruction to their designs; and thus while they impeded all his efforts, they prepared for themselves and their miserable supporters the retribution that was to follow. The chief means by which this dissension was fatal, was by intriguing with the inferior leaders to induce them to desert their posts and break their appointments; so that when Clanricarde and Castlehaven had concerted the movements immediately necessary, and fixed upon the position essential for the counteraction of their opponent, the orders were not carried into execution, and their best concerted operations were always frustrated by some traitorous disappointment. Such is a summary of the obstacles to the efforts of the royalist party, previous to the siege of Limerick by Ireton: we now come to the particulars more immediately preceding that event.

It was the object of Ireton to pass the Shannon, in order to commence the meditated attack. Having failed in the attempt to build a bridge at Castleconnel, he was on his march to Athlone, the nearest

place where he could then hope to pass. To resist his progress Clanricarde had an army of 7,000 foot, and 1,800 horse, with which he intended to fight the parliamentary army. With this view he sent to Castlehaven, to join him at a pass where he hoped to meet and check its further advance. Castlehaven left the passes of Shannon guarded, and marched to the rendezvous: but after about three hours' march, a brisk report of continued firing came from the quarter he had left, and he was presently surprised to see approaching a troop of cavalry, which he had left as a guard at Brian's Bridge: they came on in the disorder of flight, though they were not pursued. On inquiry he now learned that the parliamentarians had come on the other side of the river, and sending a few boats of musketeers across, the castle of Brian's Bridge was treacherously betrayed to them by the captain who commanded. As lord Castlehaven hurried back to arrest this threatened passage, and recover the castle, news came of the further defection of the colonel to whom he had committed the pass at Killaloe, who with all his men had fled into Limerick. The effect of this intelligence was fatal: Castlehaven's army melted away in a few hours from 4,000 to 40 horsemen, with which he himself was constrained to make his way to the lord-deputy; who finding his weakness, and the entire inefficacy of the worthless army, on which he had relied too far, retreated: and Ireton was master of the Shannon.

There was now, therefore, no obstacle to the siege of Limerick, which he at once commenced: and while he conducted his operations with progressive regularity, there was within the walls no adequate sense of the danger. Clanricarde, with the devoted gallantry of his character, offered to take the command, and share the fortune of the city: he was refused, and Hugh O'Neile appointed governor, but without more than a nominal authority; the citizens, like the ecclesiastics, thought more of protecting their own interests and immunities, than of the common and imminent danger which was collecting round their walls. There was thus little command, and no pervading authority: a laxity of discipline favoured division of councils and the intrigues of private fear and self-interest. A free correspondence with the surrounding country, was permitted, and the enemy were not suffered to be perplexed by any want of full intelligence of the councils and condition of affairs within.

While the parliamentary troops lay round the walls, an account reached them, that lord Muskerry was approaching at the head of 4,000 men, to the relief of the city. To check his approach lord Broghill was detached with 600 foot, and 400 horse, and soon came in sight of his enemy. At first Muskerry contrived by his movements to impress the notion, that he had no design to approach Limerick, and lord Broghill contented himself with a close observation of his demonstrations. At last on the 22d June, towards evening, he received intelligence, that Muskerry had sent a detachment to seize on Castlelissen, a strong place, directly on the way to Limerick. On this he ordered out his men, and about midnight, in the midst of a violent storm of rain and wind, attacked their camp, driving in the out-posts, and raising such consternation that the whole army made its escape on the opposite side, and was at some distance before morning, from

the place where it had encamped. Lord Broghill availed himself of this, by securing the way to Limerick, and then followed his enemy over the Blackwater, which they passed in the interval.

Lord Broghill soon found them drawn up to receive him, and divided his little party into three commands. Lord Muskerry's men took their ground with a degree of resolution and steadiness, then quite unusual among the Irish troops, a fact partly to be accounted for by the absence of their ordinary resources for retreat: as they generally contrived to meet their enemy on the edge of some great wood or morass, or near the defiles of some mountain pass. Lord Muskerry's men had likewise been animated by the paltry appearance of their antagonists, whom they easily surrounded: and evidently considered the victory in their hands. They offered lord Broghill quarter, who refused it for himself and his men; and a desperate fight commenced. Lord Broghill animated his men by his presence and example, and was the most exposed where danger was the hottest; at last there was a cry among the Irish, to "kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat," and a determined rush was made from which his lordship could hardly have escaped, but by the prompt aid of a lieutenant of his own troop, who, before he succeeded in disentangling his lordship from the press, received two shots in his body, and had his horse killed under him. The situation of the English was desperate, and they fought with desperation added to their wonted valour. The effect of this was soon felt among lord Muskerry's ranks, and they at last after sustaining a tremendous slaughter wavered, and gave way on every side, before the fury of the parliamentary force. Six hundred fell and numerous prisoners were taken.*

In the mean time, the citizens of Limerick were engaged in discussion on the expediency of a capitulation. On the 23d October a meeting was held in the Town House, by several officers and leading citizens, who agreed in favour of a treaty of surrender, and proposed to send commissioners next day to "*the rebels*." The bishops of Limerick and Emly came to the assembly and menaced them with excommunication, if they proceeded with a design which they characterised as delivering up their prelates to slaughter. The menace was disregarded—the excommunication with an interdiction followed publicly, and had no effect. The citizens were eager (and wisely) to save themselves, and it had been throughout a matter of difficulty to repress the clamorous importunity of the people for surrender. Hugh O'Neile wished to hold out, but his power went no further than to set the watch, while the mayor kept the key.†

These dissensions seem to have risen to a dangerous height: colonel Fennel, who sided with the mayor, took possession of Johnsgate and Cluam Towers, and drove out the soldiers of O'Neile. O'Neile summoned him to a council of war: he refused to attend, and being supplied with ammunition by the mayor, he turned the cannon on the town, and declared that he would not leave his post until a surrender should be agreed to. To enforce this declaration, he admitted two hundred of Ireton's men, and a surrender was speedily settled, and

* Budgell. Borlase.

† Carte.

concluded on the 27th. Twenty-four persons were exempted from mercy. Of these, the bishop of Limerick escaped in a soldier's dress, and found his way to lord Muskerry: the bishop of Emly, Fennel who had been instrumental in letting in the enemy, the mayor, who gave up the keys, and most of the other excepted persons were hanged by Ireton's order.

A few days after Ireton died in Limerick; and the progress of the campaign was checked by uncertainty as to the officer who should take the command. We shall here follow lord Broghill's fortune, and leave the thread of Irish history to be taken up elsewhere. The king had landed in Scotland—a rising in his favour under the conduct of Lesley had been effected, and the command of the parliamentary troops had been transferred from Fairfax to Cromwell, who was sent against the Scots. By the subsequent progress of events, he arrived, as the reader knows, at the highest station in the kingdom; and, under the title of lord Protector, acquired a power beyond that of which his unfortunate predecessor had been deprived after ten years outpouring of English blood. Thus raised, Cromwell acted with a degree of wisdom and efficient vigour, which has gone far to counterbalance the means by which he attained his eminent position; and it must be regarded as a high testimony to lord Broghill's merit, that this profound and keen observer and judicious statesman, should have sent for him, as one on whose conduct, prudence, and valour, he relied; and, if true, the fact, mentioned by Budgell, confers no less distinction—that he took “visible pleasure” in the conversation of lord Broghill, Mr Waller, and Milton. Such is the testimony which makes lord Broghill the selection of the most judicious, and associates him with the greatest and noblest spirit of his age.

Nor was the preference of Cromwell such as terminates in favourable regard, as it is mentioned by all of his biographers, that lord Broghill was sent to Scotland as the fittest person to conciliate and suppress the rough government of general Monk. He felt great and natural reluctance to accept of this commission, but suffered himself to be persuaded, with a stipulation for his recall in one year. After which he remained in England, using his influence with Cromwell, so as to protect the royalists. One day Cromwell told him in a playful tone and manner, that an old friend of his was just come to town; and to lord Broghill's inquiry as to the person, informed him it was the marquess of Ormonde. On this, lord Broghill protested his ignorance of the fact, and was answered, “I know that well enough; however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know that I am not ignorant where he is, or what he is doing.” He then let him know the place where the marquess lodged; and lord Broghill lost no time in making the important communication to the marquess, who availed himself of it, to make his escape without delay.

Very shortly after, his lordship had an opportunity of standing between the same noble family and the suspicions of the lord protector. Cromwell received information that the marchioness of Ormonde, to whom his own conduct had been generous and considerate, was engaged in forwarding the plots of his opponents and enemies in London, where she lived under his protection, with an allowance of £2000 a-year

Lord Broghill denied the probability of such an accusation, on which Cromwell, who was then bitterly angry, threw him some letters, which he told him had been taken from her cabinet, and desired him to read. On looking at these, lord Broghill fortunately recognised the handwriting of the lady Isabella Thynne, between whom, and the marquess, there had been a correspondence of the kind suspected by Cromwell. When lord Broghill assured him that the letters were written by that lady, Cromwell demanded his proof. The demand was promptly met by the production of other letters from the same lady, "of whom," writes Budgell, "he told two or three stories so pleasant, as made Cromwell lose all his resentment in a hearty laugh."*

It is mentioned by the same writer, that when Cromwell's parliament was about to pass some very severe resolutions against Clanricarde, lord Broghill interposed, and made statements so creditable to lord Clanricarde's character, that the resolutions were not brought to a vote.

The death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by the transient protectorship of his feeble son, Richard. The general respect which the strong character of his father had impressed, secured his unquestioned succession: the turbulent and heterogeneous composition of the government, army, and parliament—the unprincipled ambition of some, and the fanaticism of others, quickly made his seat uneasy. A few persons, who, by their rank and elevated principles of conduct, were alien from the party with which they moved; but who had, partly from necessity, partly from gratitude, partly too from a just sense of public expediency, served under the late protector, now continued faithful to his son, when the crowd, whose motive is ever sordid, was falling away from him. On his father's death, Richard Cromwell chose lord Broghill, Dr Wilkins and colonel Philips to be his advisers: and the position was one which brings into a strong light the tact and sagacity of this lord. At the first meeting of his parliament a military faction entered into one of those intrigues, which hitherto had been found successful as a means to enable a few soldiers to control the government, and dictate terms to parliament. All the fanatics, intriguers, and malcontents, rallied round Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambart and other general officers, and formed a cabal, which, from the place of Fleetwood's residence, where they daily met, was called the "cabal of Wallingford house:" they prevailed on the protector to sanction their meeting as a general council, to inquire into the grievances of the army, and petition for their redress. They were no sooner met than they voted a "remonstrance," in which they lamented the neglect of the "good old cause," for which the army had fought and bled; and proposed that the military power of the kingdom should be vested in some person whom they could trust.

Richard Cromwell's friends were alarmed, they were all with one exception peaceful men, whose habits unfitted them to cope with such spirits; but Broghill was more than equal to the emergency. Having asked the fear-struck protector whether he had really consented to the meeting; Richard replied that he had. "I fear," said Broghill, "that

* Budgell.

your highness will soon repent it." The protector answered that he hoped his lordship would do what he could to prevent the mischief; to this Broghill simply answered, "that as a general officer, he had a right to be present, and would see what they were doing." He at the same time turned to lord Howard and Falconbridge, who were present, and expressed his expectation of their assistance, which "they faithfully promised." On the meeting of the military council, these lords, with lord Broghill, repaired to Wallingford house, where they found five hundred officers assembled. After a prayer from Dr Owen, Desborough made a long speech, in which, among other topics of the same nature, he expressed his apprehensions of the departure of their prosperity, from the circumstance that many "*sons of Belial*" had latterly been creeping in among them. To remedy this, he proposed "to purge the army:" as the most expedient method by which this might be effected, he advised a test oath, by which every one in the army should swear that "he did believe in his conscience, that the putting to death of the late king Charles Stewart was lawful and just." This proposal was received with a loud tumult of approbation; and the whole assembly seemed so eager to have it adopted, that lords Howard and Falconbridge, considering themselves a miserable minority to outface five hundred persons, got up and went to give the protector a sad account of this affair. But when the assembly became silent, lord Broghill rose and declared his dissent from the last speaker; he said, that "he was against the imposition of a test upon the army, as a grievance of which they had felt the effects, and against which they had repeatedly declared. That if they once began to put tests upon themselves, they would soon have them put upon them by others, and there would be an end to that liberty of conscience for which they had so often fought. To the particular test proposed, he objected, that it was unjust and unreasonable to require men to swear to the lawfulness of an action, the circumstances of which they were unacquainted with. If, however, they would persist in desiring a test to purge the army, he had as good a right to propose a test as any one, and would take the liberty to offer one, which he hoped would be more reasonable than that proposed by the noble lord who went before him. He then proposed, that any one should be turned out of the army, who would not swear to defend the established government under the protector and the parliament." Among other arguments for this, he told them, that "if that test should have the ill-fortune to be rejected in that council, he would move it the next day in the house of commons, where he was confident, it would meet with a better reception." This proposal was yet more warmly received than the former; and, while the assembly was yet in a state of noise and confusion, Broghill found his way to another place between two very influential persons, colonels Whalley and Gough, two "hot men," and persuaded them to take the same part, which each of them did. In the mean time, Fleetwood and Desborough, with some of their friends, retired to consult; and having returned, declared that they had not before considered all the disadvantages of tests, but they were now convinced so fully by the arguments of lord Broghill, that they proposed to have both the tests withdrawn. Lord Broghill consented, and the blow was parried for the

time. Lord Broghill then represented to the protector, whom he found in consternation, from the account of lords Howard and Falconbridge, that this council would infallibly do mischief if they should be suffered to hold their sittings. He advised their immediate dissolution. Richard Cromwell acceded, but desired to know how this was to be managed. Lord Broghill proposed to draw up a short speech for him, which he was to deliver next day after sitting among them for an hour. This being agreed to, Broghill prepared the speech, and at ten next morning, Richard Cromwell astonished the council by his unexpected appearance; and, having taken his seat in a chair of state, he sat for an hour listening to their debate. He then rose up, and addressed them as follows:—

“Gentlemen,—I thankfully accept of your services. I have considered your grievances; and think the properest method to redress what is amiss amongst you is to do it in the parliament now sitting, and where I will take care that you shall have justice done you. I therefore declare my commission for holding this assembly to be void; and that this general council is now dissolved; and I desire, that such of you as are not members of parliament, will repair forthwith to your respective commands.”

This speech produced the intended effect of disconcerting the conspirators, and frustrating their immediate design. But they were at no loss to conjecture the source from which the blow proceeded, and their anger against lord Broghill was vehement. They immediately endeavoured to excite the irritation of that weathercock machine of democratic impulse, a republican house of commons. Some one of them the next day moved, that “an address should be presented to his highness the protector, to know who had advised him to dissolve the council of war, without the consent or knowledge of his parliament.” On this, Budgell says, it is hard to credit such absurdities, that some of lord Broghill’s friends advised him to retire. Lord Broghill sat still until his enemies had made their speeches, and then addressed the speaker to this effect:—“I am not against presenting this address; but humbly move, that another may be presented to the protector at the same time, to know who advised the calling of a general council of officers, without the consent or knowledge of the parliament; for surely that man is guilty, who durst advise his highness to call such a council, without either the knowledge or consent of his parliament.”

Now the majority of those present, not belonging to the military council, were ready to take alarm at the overbearing demonstrations of a power, of which, the effect had been repeatedly felt by this very parliament. The speech of lord Broghill at once called up this general sense to his rescue; it was a well-timed appeal both to the fear and pride of the commons; it was warmly received and the faction of Fleetwood was again discomfited. But though the council of officers had been thus dissolved, they continued to hold private meetings and to concentrate the power which they held in their hands. It was evident that their designs were not to be defeated by votes and the forms of civil authority; lord Broghill and those who acted with him, apprized the protector of the danger of his position, and expressed their opinion that nothing could save him, but the same vigorous and direct recourse to

strong measures which always characterized the policy and ensured the success of his father. They volunteered to act for him, and pledged themselves to the success of the course they recommended. But Richard Cromwell was mild, amiable and averse from all harsh and violent proceedings, he felt himself to be unequal to the dangers and difficulties, and to the cruel and arbitrary resources necessary in such contests, and he recoiled from the suggestions of his firm and spirited advisers. "He thanked them for their friendship, but he had neither done nor would do any person any harm, and rather than a drop of blood should be spilt on his account, he would lay down that greatness which was but a burthen to him."

From this his friends came to the conclusion that he could not be supported with any success, or to any useful end. They remitted in their efforts and consulted their own interests. Lord Broghill repaired to Munster, of which at that time, he was president; on his way he had to encounter the ambushes and snares of Fleetwood and Desborough, who would willingly be freed from the risk of again having to encounter one so able and so honest. It was at this time that lord Broghill came to the resolution to exert himself for the restoration of the royal family. It had indeed become plain to every observant and considerate mind, that it was the last resource against the utter dissolution of all civil order in the clash of parties, of whom none looked beyond the object of private interest, pursued by means inconsistent with any settled state of things, or any respect to constitutional rights. With this impression lord Broghill retired to Ireland, to act as occasion might offer means: he was pursued by the suspicion of his enemies. Acting with an energy which the feeble Richard Cromwell was quite unequal to resist, his military tyrants now compelled him to dissolve the parliament, and took the reins of power into their own hands. He signed his abdication, they restored the *long parliament*, and the country was at their mercy. To Ireland, they sent their commissioners and gave them a special charge to have "a particular eye to lord Broghill, and if possible to take some means to confine him." In pursuance of this, these officials sent a summons to lord Broghill, to appear before them in the castle of Dublin. He consulted his friends, and was by them advised not to place himself in the power of his enemies. He however, determined to outface them, for the refusal would be equivalent to a direct defiance, which he did not yet consider himself able to maintain, as alone it could be maintained, by a demonstration of military resistance. He therefore took his own troop and repaired to Dublin; and on his arrival, leaving his men without the town he presented himself before the commissioners. They told him that the state had been induced to suspect that he had designs against their government, and had given them directions to confine him, unless he could give sufficient security for his peaceable conduct. Lord Broghill demanded what security they desired; they proposed that he should enter into an engagement under penalty of estate and life, that there should be no commotion in Munster; he asked for time to consider, it was refused; he then desired to be satisfied on one point, "if they intended to put the whole power of Munster into his hands, if such was their intention he was ready to enter into the en-

agement they required, if not he must appeal to the world on the cruelty and unreasonableness of expecting, that he would answer for people over whom he had no control." The commissioners were embarrassed and ordered him to withdraw, and had a long discussion as to the most expedient proceeding; one of them, who was the lord chancellor of Ireland, declared that "even the honest party in Ireland would think it hard to see a man clapped up in prison who had done such signal service to the protestants; but that on the other hand, he could never consent to an increase of lord Broghill's power, which the state was apprehensive might be one day employed against them. He for these reasons proposed, that they for the present should not take any steps but contrive to send lord Broghill in good humour back to his command, to continue there till they should be further instructed." The board agreed—lord Broghill was called in, received with compliments and smiles, and invited to dine with the commissioners, whom he understood very well and repaid in their own coin.

Returning to Munster he proceeded steadily in the prosecution of his design; first securing his own officers, he also made a friend and confederate of the governor of Limerick where there was a garrison of 2000 men, and having secured Munster, he opened a communication with Sir C. Coote, who engaged in the same undertaking with an ardour which demanded all the restraint which could be exercised, by his more cool and cautious ally. Their efforts were soon successful beyond expectation; the country had long been ripe for the desired change. Wearied with the continuation of a series of contests for power and gain which appeared interminable, as one party succeeded the other with the same objects, and as little regard for any consideration divine or human, but the fear, revenge and cupidity which were the common spirit of every side.

Lord Broghill sent lord Shannon to the king to invite him over to Ireland, assuring him of a force sufficient to protect him against his enemies. But Charles had at the same time reason to hope for a similar invitation from England.

The activity of Coote had excited the notice of the commissioners, and finding that he could no longer proceed in secret, he urged lord Broghill to an open course, Broghill reluctantly consented, he had indeed no choice. His confederate was acting with a vigour which quickly produced extraordinary changes: having seized Galway, Coote surprised Athlone, marched to Dublin and impeached Ludlow. While the spirited example diffusing a general excitement, the royalists seized Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick and Drogheda.

The magistracy of Dublin now acted their part and called a Convention, which met and held its deliberations in defiance of an order from the English council of state. The members of this assembly declared their abhorrence of the proceedings of the high court of justice, and of the late king's murder. They secured the payment of the army and declared for a "free parliament;" a phrase then universally understood to imply the restoration of the royal family, for such was known to be the universal sense. The English parliament were this time compelled to confine their attention to the desperate effort of self-

preservation; after a few last efforts they recalled their agents; and the king was soon proclaimed in Ireland.

Lord Broghill met with a cold reception from the king. He suspected that he had been injured by Coote, and to counteract the impression which he thought to have been made upon the king by the misrepresentations of a rival, he sent his brother lord Shannon with a letter of Coote's, containing an acknowledgment, that it was at his instance that he first entered on the design of declaring for the king and parliament. This lord Shannon contrived to show to his majesty, and it had the effect desired. Lord Broghill was soon after created earl of Orrery, made one of the lords-justices in Ireland and president of Munster.

We have now to conclude with some notice of the literary productions, which would entitle this nobleman to a place in a different section of this work, if his far more eminent qualities as a soldier and a statesman, did not place him among the most eminent political characters of his own time. When the political state of the two kingdoms at last subsided into that repose so much and so long desired, the activity of the earl of Orrery's spirit no longer exercised in the field and council, found its occupation in the pursuits of literature; or as one of his biographers describes this change of employment, "finding that there was no longer any occasion for his sword, resolved to employ his wit and learning for the diversion and amusement of his royal master."* The first results of this new turn of the earl's loyalty were his plays, which we must admit owed their eminent success to the exceedingly depraved state of literature and literary taste in the time of Charles II. They were received with a degree of applause which might be appealed to as a test of merit, but which when justly appreciated only shows the absurdity of such a test; and their court favour was no less than their public success. Of this it is mentioned as a proof that in his play of Henry V., "Mr Harris who acted as king, was drest in the duke of York's coronation suit; Mr Betterton who played Owen Tudor, in king Charles's, and Liliston who represented the duke of Burgundy, in the lord Oxford's."†

He wrote many poems, of which the composition may be described as poor and inartificial, though the thoughts display the moral elevation of the writers mind. We here extract a portion of one upon the death of Cowley, for whom the earl entertained a high regard.

"Our wit, till Cowley did its lustre raise,
May be resembled to the first three days;
In which did shine only such streaks of light,
As served but to distinguish day from night.
But wit breaks forth in all that he has done,
Like light, when 'twas united to the sun.
The poets formerly did lie in wait
To rifle those whom they would imitate;
We watch'd to rob all strangers when they write,
And learned their language, but to steal their wit;

* Budgell's Memoir.

† Budgell.

He, from that need his country does redeem,
 Since those who want, may be supplied by him;
 And foreign nations now may borrow more
 From Cowley, than we could from them before.
 Who, though he condescended to admit
 The Greeks and Romans for his guides in wit,
 Yet he those ancient poets does pursue,
 But as the Spaniards great Columbus do;
 He taught them first to the new world to steer,
 But they possess all that is precious there.
 When first his spring of wit began to flow,
 It raised in some, wonder and sorrow too;
 'That God had so much wit and knowledge lent,
 And that they were not in his praises spent:
 But those who in his dauids look,
 Find they his blossoms for his fruit mistook.
 In differing ages diff'rent muses shin'd;
 His green did charm the sense his ripe the mind.
 Writing for heaven, he was inspired from thence,
 And from his theme derived his influence.
 The scriptures will no more the wicked fright,
 His muse does make religion a delight.
 Oh! how severely man is us'd by fate!
 The covetous toil long for an estate;
 And having got more than their life can spend,
 They may bequeath it to a son or friend:
 But learning (in which none can have a share,
 Unless they climb to it by time and care;)
 Learning, the truest wealth a man can have,
 Does with the body perish in the grave:
 To tenements of clay it is confined,
 Though 'tis the noblest purchase of the mind:
 Oh! why can we thus leave our friend possess'd
 Of all our acquisitions but the best!
 Still when we study Cowley, we lament,
 That to the world he was no longer lent;
 Who, like a lightning to our eyes was shown,
 So bright he shined, and was so quickly gone:
 Sure he rejoiced to see his flame expire,
 Since he himself could not have raised it higher,
 For when wise poets can no higher fly,
 They would, like saints, in their perfections die.
 Though beauty some affection in him bred,
 Yet only sacred learning he wou'd wed;
 By which th' illustrious offspring of his brain
 Shall over wit's great empire ever reign:
 His works shall live, when pyramids of pride
 Shrink to such ashes as they long did hide."

His lordship's leisure at the end of a life of busy political labour, appears indeed to have been more productive of great and varied efforts of literature than the whole lives of most writers, and lead us to infer that if he had lived in a later age when the education of public men became more elaborate and extended, his genius would have displayed itself to advantage in some more congenial labours than those elaborate specimens of an art which, to ensure any result of standard value, demand a more peculiar combination of powers than are required for the ordinary toils of either cabinet or camp. Besides the produc-

tions which we have already noticed, the earl composed the romance of "Parthenissa," in six parts, dedicated to Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans. We extract the opening of this dedication which is characteristic of the writer and of his time.

"Madam,—When I had last the honour to wait on your royal highness, you ordered me to write another part of Parthenissa, and you gave me leave at the same time to dedicate it to you. Only your commands, madam, could have made me undertake that work; and only your permission could have given me this confidence. But since your royal highness appointed me to obey, it was proportionate to your goodness to protect me in my obedience, which this dedication will; for all my faults, in this book, cannot be so great as his, who shall condemn what has been written for you, and is by your own allowance addressed to you."

The earl of Orrery also wrote a treatise on the art of war, in which he displayed much acquaintance with the ancient writers on that art. He wrote a reply to "a scandalous letter lately printed and subscribed by Peter Welch, procurator for the secular and regular priests of Ireland," and lastly "poems on most of the festivals of the church." The preface to this latter little work merits attention. "God of his abundant mercy, having convinced me how much precious time I had cast away on airy verses, I resolved to take a final leave of that sort of poetry; and in some degree, to repair the unhappiness and fault of what was past, to dedicate my muse in the future entirely to sacred subjects."

He is mentioned to have mostly written his poetry while confined by fits of gout; on which Dryden's compliment has been preserved: "like the priestess of Apollo, he delivered his oracles always in torment; and that the world was obliged to his misery for their delight."

Lord Broghill is known also to be the writer of the act of settlement which soon after passed. This we shall have again to notice, when we come to detail the events of Irish history after the restoration.

He continued to obtain the respect of the country and the favour of the court; and was so esteemed for his superior sagacity and knowledge of affairs, as to be almost uniformly consulted on every occasion of moment by the king. His time was divided between his presidency and London, where he attended both as a peer of parliament and a member of the council.

He died 16th October, 1679, leaving a high character as a soldier, a statesman and a writer. Among the prominent peculiarities noticeable in the history of his life, the extraordinary combination of readiness and self-possession which so often extricated him from difficult emergencies in which most persons would have been lost, must have repeatedly attracted the reader's notice. His personal appearance is thus described: "his person was of a middle size well shaped and comely, his eyes had that life and quickness in them which is usually the sign of great and uncommon parts. His wit rendered his conversation highly entertaining and amusing."*

* Budgell.

THE DE BURGOS.

RICHARD, FOURTH EARL OF CLANRICARDE.

In the preceding volume, pages 256—265, the account of this ancient and illustrious family is brought down to Richard, second earl of Clanricarde, of the branch which preserved the original name and English connection. The subject of the present memoir first entitled himself to the notice of government by conduct which indicates his loyalty and good sense. His father having declared himself for the earl of Tyrone, he repaired at once to England,* by which he not only constrained his father's conduct, but extricated himself from the suspicions which it would otherwise be hard to escape, without taking some course at variance with his duty to his father. In 1599, he was appointed governor of Connaught. But the most distinguishing incident of his career is to be found in the history of the battle of Kinsale, fought in 1601, between the English under lord Mountjoy, and the confederate forces of O'Neil and O'Donell.† In our account of this battle we have already had to mention that he conducted himself with extraordinary valour, and by achievements of personal prowess, earned the distinction of being knighted upon the field of battle. In this battle he is said to have slain twenty of the enemy, and to have had numerous remarkable escapes, "his garments being often pierced with shot and other weapons."

In consequence of this, and other services in the same war, king James appointed him governor of Connaught, keeper of his house at Athlone, and one of the privy council. The continuation of this memoir could offer nothing more than successive appointments, now of no historical importance or personal interest. In 1615 he refused the presidency of Munster, on the excuse of a long illness, and the king, from a consideration of his valuable services in that province, appointed him to the command of the county and city of Galway.

In 1624 he was advanced to the English peerage, under the title of baron Somerhill, and viscount Tunbridge; and in a few years after, Charles I. conferred the title of baron of Imany, viscount Galway, and earl of St. Albans. He took his place by proxy in the English house of lords, in 1635, but died the same year. Lodge, from whose peerage we have collected these particulars, quotes the following extract from Strafford's letters:—"This last packet advertised the death of the earl of St. Albans, and that it is reported that my hard usage broke his heart; God and your majesty know my innocency; they might as well have imputed to me for a crime his being three-score and ten years old; but these calumnies must not stay me humbly to offer to your majesty's wisdom this fit opportunity, that as that canted government of Galway began, so it may end in his lordship's person."

This nobleman was married to the daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth: she was the widow

* Moryson.

† Ibid.

of Sir Philip Sidney, and again of the unfortunate earl of Essex; by her third husband, the earl of Clanricarde, she had one son, Ulick de Burgh, the next earl, whose actions and public character will also claim a place among our illustrious men.

ULICK, FIFTH EARL OF CLANRICARDE.

DIED A. D. 1657.

THIS earl was in great favour with the unfortunate Charles I., to whom he had a strong personal attachment. In the summer of 1641 he came over to his seat at Portumna, and on the breaking out of the rebellion took the most active steps for its suppression, and for the counteraction of its effects. Being governor of Galway, his official powers and personal influence were rendered effective, and commanded a high ascendancy in that fearful period. The English knew him to enjoy the favour and confidence of the king, and the Irish looked to him as their friend and chief, to which rank he was entitled by his extensive possessions. He summoned all who held lands of the king to be ready to take arms. He summoned an assembly at Loughrea, and so restored the confidence of the proprietors that they agreed to raise a considerable force. The lords-justices, to whom he applied, were of the puritan party, and refused their co-operation. The course they took was to disarm the loyal nobility of the pale, and thus drove many into the rebel party. By the active instrumentality of the earl of Clanricarde and of the Lord Ranelagh, the president, Connaught had been kept tolerably quiet. The earl strengthened the fort of Galway, personally inspected every armament and post of defence, animated the loyal and reassured the wavering. But the disaffection of the pale rapidly spread—insurgents from the surrounding districts flowed fast in, harassing and endangering the peaceable inhabitants of the province. At length the town of Galway became infected by the widely-spreading disorder. Alarms and terrors combined with discontents began to produce their usual effects upon the fickle multitude; and under pretext of ill-treatment from the governor, they besieged the fort and reduced the garrison to extreme distress. The earl, on hearing of their extremity, rapidly collected a small force and hastened to their assistance. But though utterly unable with his handful of men to cope with the assailants, he subdued them by that moral energy of character for which he was so remarkable, and compelled them to suspend hostilities and come into terms, until the king's pleasure should be known, promising in the meantime that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection. The best effects seemed likely to follow upon this occurrence, and Lord Clanricarde was successfully exerting his pacific influence over the minds of the people, and gradually bringing them back to their allegiance, when the lords-justices, already calculating on the forfeitures to be obtained, expressed their extreme disapproval of the protection granted to Galway, and peremptorily commanded the earl to receive no more submissions. They also directed the governors of forts and other commanders, to enter into no terms with the

rebels, but to exterminate them, and all who should harbour them, with fire and sword. The insurgents grew desperate, and besieged the lord-president in the city of Athlone, where he was at length relieved by the earl of Ormonde. Clanricarde, though justly irritated at the conduct of the Irish government, remained unshaken in his loyalty, and still continued his zealous and efficient exertions for the re-establishment of tranquillity. Towards the latter end of this year a convention was held at Kilkenny by the chief portion of the Roman catholic nobility, prelates, and clergy, in which they professed their allegiance to the king (while they violated his authority and prerogative,) and their intention of being guided by the laws of England, and the statutes of Ireland, as far as they were not inconsistent with the Roman catholic religion. They enacted many laws and regulations, and when the order of government had been adjusted they selected their provincial generals. Now that the rebellion had taken a more specious and civilized form, and that the lords-justices had made themselves so obnoxious to all the high-minded and loyally-disposed, they hoped to gain over lord Clanricarde to their standard, particularly as the maintenance of the Roman catholic faith was one of their chief and most ostensible objects. They accordingly nominated him to the chief command in Connaught, and appointed colonel John Burke as his lieutenant-general. No inducement, however, or specious representation could alter lord Clanricarde's determination; he rejected all their overtures, scorned their sophistical arguments, and with unshaken loyalty adhered to the broken fortunes of his master, notwithstanding the threats and excommunication of his own clergy, which they resorted to as a last resource. When lord Ranelagh the president of Connaught quitted his government in despair, intending to lay before Charles the ruinous and faithless conduct of his justices, Clanricarde still continued at his post, though abandoned to his difficulties and his best acts maligned. Lord Ranelagh was seized immediately on arriving in Dublin, and put into close confinement, so that even the faint hope the earl might have entertained of receiving succour from the king's supporters was dissipated. As the position of the king's affairs became more desperate in England, he was proportionally anxious to bring the rebellion in Ireland to a termination, and expressed his willingness to receive and consider the complaints of the recusants. He accordingly issued a commission under the great seal of England, to the marquess of Ormonde, the earl of Clanricarde, the earl of Roscommon, viscount Moore, and others, to meet the principal recusants and transmit their complaints; to the bringing about of this arrangement the lords-justices opposed every obstacle. It was however at length effected, and the recall of Sir William Parsons followed, on the exposure of his iniquities. The province of Connaught was nearly reduced to desperation, the rebels were every day increasing in numbers, and were possessed of many of the most important forts. Lord Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna, were all that in the western province remained in the possession of the royalists. About this period the marquess of Ormonde concluded a treaty with the insurgents for the cessation of arms for a year, to which lord Clanricarde and several other noblemen were parties. In 1644 he was made commander-in-chief of the military

in Connaught, under the marquess of Ormonde, and in the same year he was promoted to the dignity of marquess, with limitation to his issue male. He was also made a member of the privy council, and zealously exerted his increased influence and power for the benefit and tranquillization of the country. An attempt was made during the campaign of Cromwell to recover Ulster from the parliamentary army, by a conjunction of the northern Irish with the British royalists of this province, under the command of the marquess of Clanricarde; this however was defeated by the intrigues of lord Antrim, and the Irish refusing to follow any leader but one of their own selection. During the long and factious struggle of the Roman catholic prelates with lord Ormonde, Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose the progress of Ireton and Sir Charles Coote towards Athlone, when the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his troops, so as to discharge them from all obedience to the government. No representations of the moderate party could induce those haughty prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication, and all that could be obtained from them was a suspension of it during the expedition for the relief of Athlone. When at length their insolent and obstinate resistance drove Ormonde from the kingdom, he appointed Clanricarde as his deputy with directions to act as circumstances and his own judgment should direct. Had Clanricarde consulted his own interest or safety he would never have undertaken so thankless and dangerous a responsibility; but his was too noble a nature to let personal considerations weigh for a moment against a sense of duty, and his zealous and devoted attachment to the king made him anxious to preserve even the semblance of his authority in Ireland; and he also thought that by continuing the war even at disadvantage in that country, he might in some degree divert the republican army from concentrating their forces against the king and the English royalists. Clanricarde accordingly accepted the office, but had to encounter a difficulty in the very outset, in getting the instrument which was to bind both parties, drawn with sufficient simplicity to prevent its covering dangerous and doubtful meanings. The Roman catholics had now a chief governor of their own religion, and Ireton was disappointed in his advance upon Limerick, so that the Irish, still possessing that city, Galway and Sligo could have made a good stand against the republicans. Ireton made propositions through his agents to the assembly to treat with the parliament, and the fatal influence exerted by the nuncio still predominated and induced the clergy to listen favourably to these proposals. Clanricarde indignantly represented the treachery and baseness of such conduct, and the leading members of the assembly joined in expressing the same sentiments, saying, "it is now evident that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquess of Ormonde, or a zeal for their religion, their purpose is to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion, but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favour of the secret enemies of our cause. Let those men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of

our treaty." The clergy, little accustomed to such language, at length submitted, and the treaty was rejected. They still, however, retained their hatred to Clanricarde, and held secret and seditious conferences.

The success of the republicans daily increased, but still Clanricarde, with desperate fidelity, adhered to the royal cause, and aided by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal. At length, on the dispersion of his troops and the total exhaustion of his own resources, he yielded to the stern necessity of his position, and accepted conditions from the republicans.

His Irish estate, of £29,000 a-year, was sequestered, and he retired to Summerhill, in Kent, where he died in 1657. He married early in life the lady Ann Compton, daughter of the earl of Northampton, and by her had one daughter, who married Charles, Viscount Muskerry.

THE BUTLERS.

JAMES, DUKE OF ORMONDE.

BORN A. D. 1607—DIED A. D. 1688.

THOMAS, the tenth earl of Ormonde, who was among the most illustrious warriors and statesmen of the sixteenth century, was yet living in the next at an extreme old age, at his house on Carrick-on-Suir, where he died in his 88th year, in 1614. As he had no male heir his estates were limited to Sir Walter Butler of Kilcash, his nephew, and grandson to the ninth earl. Sir Walter's eldest son Thomas, by courtesy lord Thurles was drowned 15th December, 1619, near the Skerries, in his passage from England, twelve years before his father's death. By his lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pointz of Acton, in the county of Gloucester, he left seven children, of whom James the eldest is the subject of the following memoir.

This distinguished statesman is said by Carte to have been born at Clerkenwell in London in 1610, but Archdall shows from the unquestionable evidence of an inquisition taken at Clonmell, April, 1622, before the king's commissioners and twelve gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, that his birth took place in 1607. The words of the inquisition are "*Predictus Thomas vicecomes Thurles, 15th die Decembris, anno dom., 1619, obiit et quidam Jacobus Butler, communiter vocatus dominus vicecomes Thurles, fuit filius et hæres præfati Thomæ Butler, et quod præfatus Jacobus Butler, tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ fuit ætatis duodecim annorum, et non amplius.*" Carte refers to the difference of date thus maintained, but mentions that he never obtained a sight of the inquisition, and therefore considers it insufficient ground for rejecting the duke's own statement, which makes it 1610.

At the period of his birth his father was under the displeasure of Sir Walter Butler for having married contrary to his wish. And when he went with his lady into Ireland, they lived for some time in the

county of Cork at the house of Mr Anthony Southwell; but their first born, James, was left with his nurse, who was a carpenter's wife at Hatfield.

In 1613 they sent for him, and his first voyage at this early age, and at a time when travelling was more tedious and liable to casualties than is now easily appreciated, made an indelible impression on his memory. He was often afterwards heard in the last years of his life, to allude to his recollection of being carried over the bridge at Bristol, and of the varied new sights which attracted his childish notice.

His grandfather's resentment had by this time passed, and the old earl his great-granduncle was desirous to see a descendant who was to be the future representative of his honours. And the duke often mentioned his recollection of this ancestor, then a blind old man, having a long beard and wearing his George about his neck whether he "sat up in his chair or lay down in his bed." He remained while in Ireland with his grandfather at Carrick-on-Suir, until 1620 the year after his father's death; he was then removed by his mother to England, and received by courtesy, the title of viscount Thurles. He was then, according to his own statement, nine years of age, and was placed at school with a Roman catholic named Conyers, at Finchley near Barnet.* This arrangement was not long allowed to continue. King James who considered that the principles of the rising generation would constitute a most important element in the plans on which his mind was then intent, the furtherance of the reformation and the improvement of Ireland, had made some rather arbitrary stretches to secure this important point. By some manœuvre of Sir W. Parsons the wardship of lord Thurles became vested in the crown upon his father's death, although he inherited no lands the tenure of which involved this consequence.

The king equally apprehensive of the family and kindred, as well as the schoolmaster, all Roman catholics, removed the young nobleman from Finchley and gave him in charge to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom his education, as well as that of other youths committed to his charge, was much neglected. Carte who mentions these particulars, observes that his writings afterwards were such as to show that their great excellence both as to matter and method, were rather due to the force of his clear and vigorous understanding than to early cultivation. In the archbishop's family he was but indifferently attended to in other respects. Abbot received no compensation from the king, and must have indeed felt the charge to be rather onerous. Lord Thurles was allowed but £40 a-year for himself and his attendants. His own small estate was under sequestration, and as the reader may happen to recollect, the bulk of the family estates had passed from them by an unjust decision of king James.

Thomas the 10th earl of Ormonde, having no issue male, had settled the chief part of his estates upon his nephew, Walter Butler, with remainders over to the male heirs of Walter, and in the succession of inheritance, to the male representatives of each branch of the family, from the first earl of Carrick. He moreover, specially, reserved cer-

* Carte.

tain manors and £6000 for his daughter. On his death the title came to Sir Walter, who also thought by the settlement here mentioned to take possession of the estates. But king James had given the daughter of his uncle in marriage to Sir Richard Preston, one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he created earl of Desmond. Preston preferred a claim to these estates in right of his wife, who was heir general; a long and vexatious suit followed, during which the king interfered at every step to overrule the judges: the case was however too plain, for even the compliance of that day, and the judges decided contrary to the desire of the king, who then decided the question himself by a stretch of arbitrary power, for his favourite. The earl attempted to resist this grievous wrong, for which the king seized on all his estate and committed him to the Fleet, where for eight years he was reduced to the most shameful extremes of want. This occurred when lord Thurles had attained his nineteenth year; he then went to live with his grandfather, at a house which he took in Drury Lane, upon his liberation from the Fleet prison.*

The young lord Thurles had been brought up a protestant, while the earl was, as his ancestors had been, a Roman catholic. He did not however show any concern in the religion of his grandson, who it is said, at this interval of his life entered very much into all the most approved gaieties of his age, and passed but little time in the earl's company. He manifested a very strong preference for the theatre, which seldom wanted his presence, and was on terms of intimacy with all the actors. He was no less assiduous in pushing his way at court; and we are inclined to think, began already to be governed by that superior sagacity, prudence and discretion which so prominently colour the whole conduct of his life. His active spirit must have manifested itself early to his nearest acquaintance, by many small incidents not recorded; and we doubt not but he already began to be marked by the observant, as one likely to take a prominent place in the foremost wave of the age's progress. It was perhaps with some such perception that the duke of Buckingham when about to embark for the relief of Rochelle, refused to allow lord Thurles to accompany him, on the pretence (for with the unprincipled Villiers, it must have been such) that he had not the permission of earl Walter his grandfather. The earl was then in Ireland, whither he had returned to look after his property, and had not been consulted by his grandson, with whose actions he had not been in the habit of interfering. The young lord would have pressed his wishes, and remained for the purpose at Portsmouth, where the expedition was on the point of sailing; but the assassination of the duke put an end to this expectation and he posted back to London.

It was about six months after this incident that he first met the lady Elizabeth Preston, his kinswoman, and the heiress of those large estates which by the settlements of her grandfather should have descended to himself. Her mother was at the time not long deceased, and her father had like his own been drowned near the Skerries, in his passage from Dublin to Holyhead. The king had given her guardianship to the earl of Holland, then groom of the stole, and a favourite at court.

* Carte.

She had reached her fourteenth year, and is said to have at that early age been well informed in the history of the lawsuit, which had been so disastrous to the house of Ormonde, and was yet, likely to be attended with further mischief to both parties, as it was yet kept alive. It was also perhaps strongly felt, that the injustice by which her right commenced was not likely to outlast the favour and the obstinate self-assertion of the king. These impressions appear to have had their full weight on the minds of both parties, and no less on those of the more prudent part of their kindred. Among others, the lord Mountgarret is mentioned,* as having entered strongly into the interests of his kinsman, and as he had constant opportunities of visiting the young lady, he was sedulous in his endeavours to interest her in favour of lord Thurles. She was designed by the king for some favourite whom it was his desire to enrich, but she soon manifested a lively preference for her young relation, whose very handsome person, spirited manner, and engaging conversation, had with the representations of others engrossed her entire affection. This could not be long concealed at court, and soon reached the royal ear. One day when lord Thurles went to court he was called by the king, who warned him "not to meddle with his ward." Lord Thurles answered that "he never saw her any where but at court, where all paid her respect; and he having the honour to be her kinsman, thought he might do the same as well as others; but if his majesty would forbid him his court he would refrain from it." The king was embarrassed and replied, "no, I do not command that."†

The object of lord Thurles' most anxious wishes was thus apparently brought near by affection and choice, while the prejudices and projects of the king seemed yet to interpose a wider barrier; but some of the main obstacles had recently been removed and others had to be combated by exertion. The duke of Buckingham's assassination had cleared a formidable opponent from the path. Buckingham had a sister married to William Fielding, earl of Denbigh, for whose youngest son he had obtained the promise of the young lady in marriage; and her father was not only thus pledged, but in order the better to secure his own claims to the estates of the earl of Ormonde, he had prevailed on the king to grant him the wardship of lord Thurles, by which means he had acquired as much power over him as over his daughter. The death of both these parties opened a way for the negotiation of the matter; and to this lord Thurles determined to resort. There were some slighter impediments, but the only one worth naming was the influence of the earl of Holland, who obtained the lady's wardship from the king on her father's death. As however lord Holland had no object but the then common one of the pecuniary advantage accruing from such an office, lord Thurles took the obvious and direct course of an offer of £15,000, which was more than in the ordinary course the guardian could hope to make by the other proposed marriage. Accordingly he agreed: and the suit being thus advanced through this legitimate authority the king soon consented: he had a strong regard for the memory of Buckingham, and felt desirous to fulfil his known wishes in favour of his nephew; yet he could not but have recognised the hard-

* Carte.

† Ibid.

ship and injustice attendant on the whole proceeding, from beginning to end; so that when applied to through the formal channel he had no reluctance to wave claims, which could only be maintained by the impotency of court favour. He issued letters patent dated, 8th September, 1629, declaring that "for the final end of all controversies between Walter earl of Ormonde, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard earl of Desmond, he had given his consent, that there shall be a marriage between James viscount Thurles and the said Elizabeth, and, grants her marriage and the wardship of her lands to the said Walter earl of Ormonde, &c., &c."

This marriage was solemnized in London, Christmas, 1629, and four days after lord Thurles went with his lady to Acton in Gloucestershire, the seat of his uncle Sir Robert Pointz, where for the following year he remained, chiefly occupying himself in study. His education had been neglected while he resided with the archbishop, and after he left his tutelage, he had entered into the dissipation of the court with too much zest to admit of much profitable cultivation. But in the calm and tranquil seclusion of domestic life his good taste and good sense recognised the disadvantage, and his active spirit prompted the correction. The chaplain of his uncle was his able and willing assistant, and gave him such instruction as was thought requisite at that period.

At the end of 1630 he went to reside with his grandfather in Carrick, where he chiefly resided till 1632 when the earl died; and lord Thurles thus succeeded to the estates and honours of his illustrious race. Of the most active disposition, he had at once on coming to Ireland determined to enter into the service of the crown, and purchased a troop of horse in the king's army in Ireland; and soon after made a journey to England, to solicit in some matter of confiscations due to the king. We only mention the circumstance here for the sake of a few slight incidents, which Carte relates, and which help to throw some light on his personal qualities and character. "Having travelled over part of the country and visited his lady's relations, he rode from Edinburgh to Ware in three days, and could easily have been in London that night, had he not thought it convenient to stay there; but so little sensible was he of any fatigue, that, finding books in the room, instead of going to rest, he fell to reading, and about the dead of the night lighted on the '*Counter Scuffle*' which he had not seen before, it put him into such a fit of laughter, that the landlord and his wife started out of their sleep amazed, and scarce able to imagine what the matter could be."* His journey home, in about a year and a-half after, is no less descriptive of the travelling of his age. He left London on Saturday morning in September, having two horses upon the road; he proceeded to Acton within eight miles of Bristol, where he received a message from the captain of the "Ninth Whelp," in which he was to sail, that the wind was fair for Ireland, and the vessel would sail by eight next morning. "His lordship took care to be on board by that hour, and first making a hearty meal, went to his rest and slept eleven hours at a stretch. The ship set sail by nine with so favourable a gale, that by nine next morning they ran up to Waterford, and his lordship meet-

* Carte.

ing with Sir Robert Welsh there, got horses from him, rode sixteen miles to his house at Carrick, and dined there that same Monday at three of the clock."

It was about the same time that the earl of Strafford was sent over to the government of Ireland; and the reader is aware of the state of this country at the time. Half-conquered, half-settled, having imperfectly undergone those reducing and civilizing, though cruel processes by which all other nations have attained political maturity; planted, subjected, and ruled sufficiently to cause immense irritation, but insufficiently for the purpose, the country existed in a state not to be classed under any political category, or described truly, unless by comprehensive exceptions, negations, and qualifications. The common people were slaves, and in a state of the most barbarous degradation; the chiefs were disaffected to government and discontented with their condition, and anxious for the return of their ancient despotisms. The English were balanced between the oppressions of unsettled law, and the encroaching anarchy which on every side pressed upon its ineffective control; the clergy were strenuously wielding a newly acquired popular influence, to obtain an ascendancy for their church, and to crush the growing power of the church of England; while this latter in its turn, was compelled to maintain its existence by the use of such weapons of defence as the political forces of government afforded. Such was the involved state of the political elements which Strafford came to overrule, by the exertion of a sagacious understanding and a degree of political courage rarely if ever excelled.

It is hard now to pronounce, how far the policy of Strafford might have been eventually successful in reducing to a state of civil order such a chaos of troubled elements. But the juncture of events was singularly unfortunate for the undertaking, and the rough means of which it demanded the employment, became in the event sad aggravations of the evils which followed. At the same time that Wentworth was endeavouring with a rough hand to mould the heterogeneous elements of Ireland, into the form of constitutional polity; the very power on which all authority over this country could subsist, was beginning to be rudely shaken by the beginning of a revolution. The contentions between king Charles and his parliament, soon withdrew the attention of the English cabinet from the real interests of Ireland, and the policy of lord Strafford was crossed, entangled and rendered inconsistent by the interference of considerations arising from the position of English affairs. The sound and sagacious system of controlling and improving policy, soon degenerated into a mingled system of forced expediency and state manœuvre, which neutralized the good of a firm government and added to the evils which were to follow.

It was in such a critical position of both countries that we are to introduce the young earl of Ormonde into public life. The earl of Strafford, whose policy it was to control every spirit, had exercised a despotic personal control over such of the aristocracy as were not the partakers of his councils. Of this we have already offered some examples. Among other things indicative of the stern and absolute temper of his government, was the order by which the members of the Irish parliament were disarmed by the usher on entering the house.

This order, was, it is true, warranted by several precedents in both countries, and was rendered seemingly expedient by the animosity of parties, and by the circumstance, that the parliament then held its sittings in the castle. It is also likely that the parliamentary character of the dangerous proceedings then passing in England, made it seem expedient to tread down to the utmost the temper of the Irish parliament which was more likely to show the insubordinate temper than the constitutional wisdom of that of England. Whatever was the policy, the order was made by proclamation, that the lords and commons should enter the house without their swords; and the usher of the black rod was stationed at the door to receive them from the members as they entered. To the demand of this officer all assented, and no demur was made until the earl of Ormonde came. As he proceeded to enter, without taking the slightest notice of the usher's first intimation, he was brought to a stand by a more peremptory check from this officer, who stepped before him, and with the usual "jack-in-office" impertinence of state menials, demanded his sword. The earl shortly answered, that if he had his sword "it should be in his guts," and without further notice of the cowed official, walked to his seat. This incident could not fail to find its way at once to the viceregal ear: Strafford felt outraged at so unexpected a defiance of his authority, and resolved to make the refractory young noble feel the weight of his power. Without a moment's delay, he sent to summon the earl to his presence at the rising of the house. Ormonde came; he was asked if he was not aware of the order, and if he had not seen the lord-lieutenant's proclamation? he replied in the affirmative, but added, that he had disobeyed them in deference to a superior authority to which his obedience was first due, and then he produced the king's writ, by which he was summoned to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. To this there was no immediate reply; though Strafford regarded the words as merely formal, they were too express a justification, and on too specious an authority to be slighted, and he was unwillingly compelled for the time to dismiss the offending earl without even a reprimand. This was not very agreeable, either to his policy or to his peremptory temper, and he seems to have for a while balanced on the adoption of some vindictive course. He consulted Sir George Radcliffe and Mr Wandesforde, the master of the rolls, who were both his confidential friends and advisers: he told them that "the single point under consideration was, whether he should crush so daring a spirit, or make him a friend."* Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of both, gave this prudent advice, "that as it was necessary for the lord-deputy to have some friends among the great men of the kingdom which he was to govern, so he knew none among them all who so well deserved to be made a friend as that earl, whether he considered the power which his birth, alliances, estate, and capacity, gave him in the nation, or his personal qualities, the zeal which he had both by principle and inclination for the service of the crown, the generosity of his nature, and the nobleness of his sentiments which qualified him for such a friendship as he should wish his patron to enjoy and cultivate." Such was the

* Carte.

counsel adopted by lord Strafford. It was indeed amply recommended by other considerations as likely to have immediate influence. Ormonde already possessed the weight which was due to his active energy of character and his property in the country: in parliament he had not only his own voice and vote, but was fortified with the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore and Aunger. Strafford entered with the determination of his own character into the course he now adopted, and soon came to the most friendly understanding with one whose principles were all conformable to his own on the questions of main importance. The friendship of Strafford was probably of no small use to the earl in the conduct of some private affairs respecting his estates, which he had then for some time been engaged in negotiating with government. A project for the plantation of the large tracts of territory, known by the designation of Upper and Lower Ormonde, had long been entertained, and at several times taken up by the crown. It was important to the earl, as involving the question of rights in a district of which he was the chief proprietor. The plan was revived under the active and improving administration of the earl of Strafford, and Ormonde received notice of it from Sir W. Ryves, who at the same time pressed him to take the same course which his grandfather had done, which was to enter with zeal into the project and make a composition with the government for the saving of his own rights and estates. This was the more likely to succeed, as the inquisition essential to the purpose of government, to ascertain the title of the crown, required the inspection of his lordship's title deeds. The king had also written to enjoin, that every attention should be paid to the wishes and to the interests of the earl. Under circumstances so favourable, the plan was highly to the advantage of Ormonde, who entered into it readily, and won the favour of the king and the Irish government by the alacrity with which he offered his services, and afforded the use of the necessary documents. The spirit of compliance was desirable to encourage, and there was thus an additional reason on the part of government for making every concession to Ormonde, so as to display to others in a strong light the advantages of the concession he had made. By the help of these advantages, and his own active temper, Ormonde not only secured his own estates but contrived also to settle and establish some claims which had been rendered questionable by the encroaching disposition of his neighbours. He obtained also in addition, a grant of the fourth part of the lands to be planted by the crown. He also obtained grants of a thousand acres each for his friends, "John Pigot, Gerald Fennel and David Routh, esquires."*

After some minor honours, not sufficiently important to detain us here, the earl was in 1640 appointed lieutenant-general of horse, with £4 per day; and during the absence of the earl of Strafford, he was made commander-in-chief of the forces raised by this earl for the aid of the king against the Scots. Strafford sailed for England 3d April, 1640, leaving Wandesforde his deputy; and by the extraordinary activity and diligence of Ormonde, an army of 8000 effective men was rapidly collected in Carrickfergus. As there was no result of any im-

* Carte.

portance, we forbear from entering into the full details of this service: the levies were easily made, but the means for their payment were not so readily forthcoming, and the delay caused much inconvenience, and some false movements in the council not essential to relate. This army was actually commanded in Carrickfergus by St Leger, as the earl of Ormonde was obliged to remain in Carrick by the illness of his countess, who was soon after delivered of a daughter—the lady Elizabeth Butler afterwards married to Philip earl of Chesterfield.

The absence of Ormonde from parliament, where his great influence and commanding ability had leading weight, was now strongly felt, and his presence was importunately desired by Wandesforde. As however he was reluctant to leave his countess in her illness, he compromised the matter by sending the proxies intrusted to him, together with his own to noblemen in whom the government might confide. The parliament had become at this time more difficult to manage than hitherto: the example of the English parliament, the infection of the covenanters, the yet latent springs of the approaching rebellion, had given a tone to their temper, which the absence of Strafford left uncontrolled. Strafford was detained, first by his own protracted illness, and then by the illness of the earl of Northumberland, whose place he was compelled to fill in the command of the king's army against Scotland. During this time, the Irish parliament made a violent and partly successful effort to diminish and delay the subsidies which had been voted for the public service: so that in consequence a considerable sum was not levied, till the eruption of rebellion in the following year put an end to the proceeding.* The expedition against Scotland was rendered abortive by the king's irresolution and the intrigues of his leading officers, who were secretly promoters of the parliamentary party, and consequently favourers of the covenanters; and the foundation of all his subsequent disasters was laid by the treaty of Rippon. The prosecution of Strafford followed and the death of Wandesforde.

In the course of 1640, and the following year, the earl of Ormonde exerted his best abilities in parliament to resist the strong popular current that had set in against the king. The absence of the earl of Strafford, and the perceptibly increasing power and success of the English commons had first produced a new and sudden change in the temper of the commons: from being obsequious and complying, they took at once the tone and entered into the views of the English commons. Their former loyalty, which was the subserviency of fear and self-interest, was at once and wholly thrown aside; and the spirit which it had required a firm hand to suppress, and would have required a long continuance of civil subordination to correct, blazed forth with all the fierceness of sect and party: the personal animosities, the national prejudices, the resentment of wrongs, the long-fostered aims, ambitions, discontents, and jealousies, all rushed into a contest, in the course of which all had something to gain, to redress, or to revenge. The Roman catholics and the puritans, hitherto violent in mutual fear and hate, felt for a moment the tie of a common interest, and advanced together to the work of confusion. Yet, as ever has been the case in

* The detail of this intrigue will be found in Carte, I. pp. 99—102.

the public movements of faction, the declared motives and the public complaints were such as to impose upon the general historian a necessity of admitting that their language is not contrary to reason, or their complaints and demands devoid of justice. The reason, however, and the justice, will, in the case before us, upon a fair view of the facts, appear to be little more than specious pretences, addressed to the ignorance and prejudice of the public mind—ever facile and precipitate, and more so then than now. We cannot here devote a dozen pages to the minute analysis necessary to expose this error; which is however of the less importance, as it seldom imposes upon any person capable of reflection, unless when he imposes on himself. It will appear on strict investigation, that the chief part of the demands and complaints of this parliament owe their present appearance of right and justice to the want of an adequate conception of the real state of Ireland, its parties, interests, and civil state at that period: the remaining portion was advanced, not for its justness or expediency, but for the vexatious purpose of party. It may be looked on as a maxim, that in any state of things the disposition to find fault can never be at a loss for fault to find; and having guarded our meaning with these qualifications, we may say that the first ebullition of the commons, though evidently vexatious in purpose, was highly warranted in justice. The principle of taxation was unequal, and threw the burden almost exclusively on the aristocracy: the subsidies, which had nevertheless been freely voted, were exorbitant, and the method of rating them unequal and oppressive. Their complaints of the conduct and fees of the ecclesiastical courts and other similar institutions, perverted for the purpose of exaction, were founded in truth, though mainly recommended to the parties as affording a common basis for present union.

In the following session they met in a temper of still increased resistance, and went more directly to their purpose. The laws which Strafford had obtained for national improvement, were the first objects of attack, they represented the inconveniencies attendant upon the enforcement of the laws against plowing by the horse's tail, burning corn in the straw, plucking sheep alive, &c.; and in their violence displayed their sense of constitutional freedom by urging the remedy of these complaints by the application of arbitrary power on the part of government.

Their attack upon the subsidies was the most effective effort of their combination with the English parliament. Having in the beginning of the year voted four entire subsidies, and shewn their readiness to add to this tribute of zealous devotion, if the king should require it: in a few months more, they complained of the burden and postponed its levy; and on their next meeting, before the same year was past, they passed a resolution for the purpose of defeating it entirely, by which it was reduced to the tenth of its amount.

The contest, as it deepened, supplied them with more weighty and better considered topics of grievance, and having become closely cemented with the English Commons, they received the aid of profounder knowledge, and were urged on by more long-sighted atrocity than their own. The remonstrance contrived by the prosecutors of Strafford gives a deeper and more statesmanlike tone to the pro-

ceedings of this otherwise trifling assortment of factions. In this remonstrance they set forth the happy subjection of Ireland to England—the descent of the greater part of the people from English parents—the ancient extension of magna charta to Ireland—its flourishing condition, and its liberal subsidies. From these they pass to the misgovernment of the earl of Strafford, and the various exactions, oppressions, impolitic measures, and malversations, by which this country, the great and flourishing descendant of England, was suddenly reduced to a state of exhaustion and poverty: the decay of trade—the perversion of law—the denial of rights and graces, monopolies, tyrannies, &c. A remonstrance composed of sixteen articles—specious in sound, and grounded on partial statements as well as gross misrepresentations and false views of justice and political expediency, but well suited to the temper of the time—had been voted by the commons. It was introduced in the lords, where it was defeated by the strenuous efforts of Ormonde; aided by the superior intelligence of that body, which then, as ever since, and indeed it always must happen, combined a greater portion of the political knowledge of the existing period.

On the death of Wandesforde, the earl of Strafford earnestly advised the king to appoint Ormonde to the government of Ireland. But though such also was the king's own judgment, a very violent opposition was made by the Irish commons, and it is attributed to the animosity and the intrigues of the earl of Arundel that this opposition was successful. The earl of Arundel conceived himself to be entitled to large property in Ireland, which was in the possession of the earl of Ormonde and others. The lands in question were a portion of the lands of Strongbow, which had passed with one of his daughters by marriage into the family of the earl of Norfolk, from whom lord Arundel derived his claim. But upon inquisition, it was discovered that the lands which might be affected by this claim were different from those for which it was made: the inheritance of the lady who married Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, being in the county of Catherlogh, (Wicklow,) while the territory of Idough now claimed, had been brought by another daughter into the possession of an earl of Gloucester, from whom it was traced till it came by regular descent through the family of March to Edward IV. Being thus vested in the crown, it was granted by James I. to Francis Edgeworth and his heirs, from whom it was purchased by the earl of Ormonde and the earl of Londonderry. These facts were affirmed by an inquisition issued 11 Car. I. On this occasion it would appear from Carte's statement, that some flaw which he does not sufficiently mention, was found in the titles, and that consequently the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry passed the lands in fee-farm for a rent of £30 a-year to Sir Charles Coote, who afterwards joined them in passing the same lands to Mr Wandesforde, who took out new letters patent on the commission for the remedy of defective titles. The earl of Arundel's pretence to any title seems to be clearly out of the question; but his desire to obtain the lands was excited and kept alive by an artful projector who filled his imagination with glittering dreams of Irish gold; and when the king's title was found, he got letters from his majesty to the lord-deputy to give him the preference of such lands as had belonged to his ancestors. As no lands were

found to answer this description, he was disappointed, and his pride mortified, and he became the active enemy of both the earls of Ormonde and Londonderry.

King Charles, whose facility in yielding to influence was among the first means of that reverse of fortune, which was aggravated perhaps by the obstinacy of his conduct, when resistance became dangerous, now yielded to the counsellors by whom he was surrounded; and we are inclined to attribute it more to the influence of his own enemies than to those of the earl of Ormonde, that this nobleman was set aside in deference to the clamour of the Irish commons, who were wholly unworthy of regard. The appointment of Dillon and Parsons followed, of whom the former was as we have already explained soon dismissed to make way for Sir John Borlase.

A stormy session of parliament followed in which nothing worthy of detail occurred. The two houses were engaged in mutual conflicts, which mainly originated in the irritable temper and the perverse obstinacy of the house of commons: they met with well-tempered and effective opposition in the lords, where the earl of Ormonde took the lead of the king's party, and displayed a degree of firmness, judgment, and sagacity, which would indeed be a sufficient reason for the detail of the circumstances, had we not by far too large a fund of more important matter, illustrative of the character of this great man. The most memorable proceedings of the session consisted in a factious and scandalous impeachment of the members of Strafford's council at the suggestion of the conductors of his prosecution in the English parliament, for the sole purpose of preventing their attendance to give testimony in his favour. The charges were vague, and upon that frightfully iniquitous abnegation of all the principles of justice, the rule of cumulative treason, by which it was assumed that many slight misdemeanours not separately treasonable, might in their sum amount to treason. As these charges were futile, so the collision to which they gave rise did not consist so much in their consideration, as in a continued struggle on either side to effect or frustrate their real and direct intent, which was the confinement of the persons accused. The most curious of the small incidents of this protracted and turbulent discussion, was a suggestion prompted by the bold and ready ingenuity of the earl of Ormonde, in answer to the urgency of the opposite party for the arrest of the lord-chancellor; to this importunate proposal he answered that his removal would be a suspension of their authority; a point which caused great discussion, and thus with many other such frivolous questions helped to divert the efforts of the parliamentary faction in both houses from graver mischief.

The next affair which immediately engaged the attention of the earl of Ormonde, was of far more interest. There was not money either for the maintenance or the dissolution of the army which had been raised in Ireland. And the king was insidiously urged upon the subject by the parliament, for the evident purpose of embarrassing him. His resources had been entirely exhausted, and it was felt to be a matter of the most pressing necessity, to disband a large body of men for whom he could not afford either pay or sustenance. As however this could not well be managed without the immediate disbursement of a

large sum of money, no expedient seemed better than to send this force into foreign service. The English parliament, urged by the Irish agents in London, addressed the king on the expediency of their being speedily disbanded, and he answered, by informing them of his difficulties and of the expedient he intended to adopt. On the very next day, 8th May, 1641, he sent an order to that effect to the Irish lords-justices, and a letter to the earl of Ormonde to take the necessary steps, for the cautious and peaceable discharge of a duty so nice and difficult. He signed also warrants for seven of their colonels to transport a thousand men each, out of Ireland for foreign service. Meanwhile, the provision of the requisite expense was entirely left to the Irish government. The lords-justices consulted with the earl, but they could only agree to execute the order as they might, and Ormonde sent his warrants as lieutenant-general to have the soldiers' pay stopped from the 25th of the same month. By great efforts, among the king's party in Ireland, a small sum sufficient for a part payment to the soldiers, enabled the earl to succeed in his difficult task, and by the aid of precise arrangements, and much vigilant and active precaution, he succeeded in disbanding them without any of the disorders that were apprehended.

Preparations had at the same time been made to send the regiments as already ordered into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador had expended large sums, when suddenly the commons started a new discontent and clamoured loudly against this disposition of the army. They affected to fear, that the king of Spain would use them only to raise rebellion in Ireland, after the example of his grandfather. The suggestion was perhaps more founded in probability than sincerely meant, as we have already stated in our notice of Roger Moore;* and it was a fact well known to one of the parties then composing the popular faction in the house, that the rebellion was at that moment in the course of preparation, and its first outbreak actually under contemplation, in the very place and among the very persons pointed out by their suggestion, the Irish refugees in Spain. Such was the substance of the speeches of the parliamentary leaders, Darcy, Cheevers, Martin and others, who specially mentioned several of those Irish officers who commanded the Irish in the Spanish service, with the titles of their Irish rank, "Prince of Ulster, marquis of Mayo, and earls of Desmond and Beerhaven." By this clamour the king's design was interrupted and a most violent contest ensued, which in the course of the summer was transferred to the English house, where it was pursued with equal violence and pertinacity, to the great embarrassment of Charles, whom it involved with the Spanish ambassador and humiliated in the eyes of the public, and of all Europe.

On the attainder of Strafford, he urged upon the king to give the garter, which would thus become vacant, to the earl of Ormonde; as considering him the person most likely to be both efficient and zealous in his service, under the pressure of those great embarrassments which were progressively thickening around him. Nothing can indicate more plainly the impression made by the character and con-

* Life of Roger Moore, Vol. II.

duct of Ormonde upon the mind of that great statesman; and it is not less a high proof of Ormonde's elevated disinterestedness, that he refused the honour on the ground that in the king's present difficulties, it could be of use as a means to win over, or to fix the adhesion of some one less steady and principled than himself.

We now come to the rebellion of 1641, which we are to view mainly in relation to the conduct of the earl of Ormonde; but from the central position which his power and station, as well as his conduct and character affords, we shall take the occasion to give a more methodical and broader sketch of this marked portion of our history, of which we have already been enabled to offer select details and scenes. For this purpose, little more will be necessary than to notice briefly in their order of time the main series of general events, only expanding into detail those which bear any direct reference to the immediate subject of our narration.

Upon the fullest investigation of the preceding history, we can have no doubt that a rebellion was for many years in preparation. It was looked to by the clergy as the only means of raising them to that position of authority and influence, of pomp and splendour, which they saw exercised by their order upon the continent. The native Irish chiefs looked upon it as the only hope of their restoration to their ancient rank and estate. The lawyers viewed it as the harvest of their order, whether as opening the field of legal extortion, or the path to official malversations. The people, who were poor, lawless, and barbarous, had visionary ideas of advantages, artfully suggested by their leaders, and more substantial notions of the harvest of plunder and the delights of military license. These combustible elements lay crudely combining under the quiet surface of peace and progressive improvement, the results of the plantations and institutions of the last reign; and slowly matured for the moment of occasion.

That moment was brought on by those various and rough collisions of party, which we have slightly sketched in this memoir. The troubles of the king were the fundamental cause; from this all received a violent accelerative impulse, and in the separate lines of their several views, came together, to seize the evident occasion and to fix and widen the breach which was made in the ramparts of civil order, for the surer and safer execution of their several designs. Within the walls of parliament, and within the circles of office, influence and power, all may be considered as having had their definite aims: every one was for himself, his party, or the constitution, or the king. Without, the views of the multitude were agitated and fluctuating, the people whose understandings are the tongues of their leaders, or the report of rumour, were filled with various sentiments of discontent, anger, fear, and expectation. The specious misrepresentations of a parliament of which the main weapon was the language of grievance and accusation, filled the country and gave a prevailing tone to popular feeling. And thus under circumstances from which rebellion would have arisen out of the position of the king's affairs, a long organized rebellion was kindled. Roger Moore and his associates as isolated individuals could not have moved a man, or done more than to organize a burglary; but the moment was come and the country prepared, and they had only to apply the fatal

firebrand to the issue of the inflammable vapour, and the fiery volume broke out with its broad red blaze, to wrap the land in conflagration beyond their power to quench or moderate.

For many years before 1634, Ever MacMahon afterwards titular bishop of Clogher, was, by his own confession to the earl of Strafford, employed upon the continent, with others of his order and country in soliciting aid for this event. Early in 1641, the period of the parliamentary outbreaks which we have related, Roger Moore was at work; the conspiracy between himself, Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neile, MacMahon, and others was concerted, late in the autumn of the same year; on the 22d October, 1641, Owen Conolly's information was received.* The next day had been appointed for the surprise of the castle: and in a few days more the rebels had obtained possession of the principal forts of Ulster. By whom, and by what means, and under what circumstances these exploits were performed, our notices of the principal actors describe.

At this time, the entire military force in Ireland consisted of 943 horse and 2297 foot; an effort which had been made by the king to strengthen this force, had been effectually resisted by the English parliament. The earl of Ormonde was at Carrick-on-Suir, when he received the accounts of the first acts of the rebel chiefs. He had a little before dispatched Sir Patrick Wemyss to the king on some application concerning his palatine rights in Tipperary, which king James had unjustly seized, and which he was now endeavouring to recover. Sir Patrick was immediately sent back to him with the king's commission of lieutenant-general of Ireland. The lords-justices had also sent dispatches on the 24th October, two days after their first intelligence, but their letter miscarried, and on the 2d November, they sent another. But on the arrival of Wemyss with the king's commission, they also made a formal appointment to agree with it, saving however the authority of the lord-lieutenant.

It would have been fortunate for Ireland in that most critical moment, if the sole authority had been trusted to the earl of Ormonde; and these miserable officials had been wholly set aside. Borlase was an old soldier, unversed in state affairs. Parsons was worse than incompetent. To his want of the statesman-like ability which the juncture needed, he added a want of political integrity, steadiness, and firmness. He was a lawyer who had worked his way by his expertness and pliable subserviency; and who was incapable of comprehending any motive beyond the care of his own interest or safety, and unfit for any employment beyond the chicanes of official circumvention, by which life and property were ensnared. He did not clearly perceive the position of circumstances, and entertained neither adequate views of what was expedient, nor upright motives of action; and hence his conduct was inconsistent throughout and wavering. In his moments of terror, desirous to crush, burn, and execute indiscriminate vengeance; in the return of his confidence, as anxious to foster the rebellion of which he could not calculate the real results or see the progress. He thus repressed the zeal and exertion of others, and protected while he exasperated the rebels. To this is to be added, that he was a zealous

* Vol. II. Life of Roger Moore.

puritan, and was chiefly indebted to the support of the parliament for his continuance in power. On this party his expectations were founded, and it is therefore not a mere conjecture that he was the instrument of their views. It was their principal object by every means to distress the king, and the disturbance in Ireland was no slight assistance. Parsons faithfully pursued the turnings of their policy to the utmost extent of his efforts.

The earl of Ormonde at once urged a decided attack upon the confederates: he represented how easy it would be to suppress them before their people could be armed or fully disciplined. He therefore proposed to march against them with the small body of troops at the time under his command, with a few of the new levies which had been raised on the discovery of the danger. To the great surprise of the earl, the lords-justices refused, on the ground of want of arms for the troops which were to take the field. The earl knew that there was no such want, as there was at the time laid up in the castle a store of arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, besides a fine train of artillery. He was thus therefore reduced to the mortification of finding his commission nugatory, and seeing the time for action pass, while in Dublin he was witness to the frivolous proceedings and the absurd and fraudulent councils, in which nothing was sincere but mischievous proceedings against all such as were not of the faction, and had the ill-fortune to be within the circle of their authority. Carte relates a circumstance which took place about this period of our narrative. A council was sitting in the castle on 13th December, at which the earl of Ormonde was present—when Parsons proposed a court-martial on captain Wingfield, and was steadily resisted by the earl. Parsons lost his temper, and in violent language insisted upon it, assuring him that it should be done for common safety; and that if he did not do it, he should be responsible for losing the kingdom. The earl of Ormonde, who says Carte “was never at a loss in his days for an answer equally decent and appropriate, replied, ‘I believe, Sir, you will do as much towards losing the kingdom as I, and, I am sure, I will do as much as you for saving it.’”

The English parliament for a little time affected great zeal for the tranquillization of Ireland: their object was to obtain the entire authority, and as much as possible to set aside all efforts on the part of the king. They appointed a committee of the members of both houses, which sat daily on the affairs of Ireland. Their real object was favoured by the zealous co-operation of the Irish lords-justices, and the inadvantage of the king, who, still anxious to conciliate and to leave no room for complaint, recognized their authority by his communications: he was under the delusive notion that their professed object was genuine, and hoped that something might thus at last be done to restore the peace of Ireland. With the same view he exerted himself to obtain some aid in men from the Scottish parliament, which listened to his urgent applications with cool indifference, while the English parliament, having secured their object, let the affairs of Ireland take their course, and pursued the deeper game upon which their leaders were intent. They asserted the power of the sword and treasury, by liberal votes of men and money, which they took care not to send:

large supplies were ordered, but, in the little that was sent, they contrived to make the act subsidiary to the purpose of further weakening the king, by ordering for the Irish service whatever stores lay at his disposal.

Meanwhile, the rebellion was rapidly spreading in Ireland, and though much retarded by the Boyles and St Leger in Munster, and by the influence and activity of Clanricarde in Connaught, every country was in a state of fear and disturbance. The plunders and massacres of Sir Phelim O'Neile, and the first insurgent bodies which were mainly composed of the lowest classes, followed: and many months had not elapsed till the impolicy and oppression of the lords-justices transferred a numerous and respectable party of the best Irish nobility and gentry to the ranks of rebellion. Of these facts, we have already entered into considerable details. The lords-justices in their first terror were willing to trust these noblemen with arms; but when prematurely elated by the liberal votes of the English parliament, they thought they might safely treat them with suspicion and insult. The accession of these persons to the rebellion had the beneficial effect of considerably mitigating its savage character; and the evil consequence of giving it for a time concert, military talent, resource, and all the formidable attendants of a regular war, conducted by regular means and skill.

The parliament was called, and allowed to sit for two days in Dublin: the Irish gentry who had assembled there had seen and felt the horrors of the rebellion,—they would have entered with an exclusive unity of purpose into the necessary measures for its suppression. The lords-justices were, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to allow them a second day's existence, and they could only vote a representation of the means necessary for the pacification of the country: their representation was transmitted by the justices to the English committee who suppressed it. They offered to vote a large supply, but, before this could be done, they were dissolved, and sent away to abide as they might the storm that raged round their houses. Before their departure from town, the principal members of both houses met, and agreed upon an address to the king, in which they expressed their loyalty, and recommended that the government of the kingdom should be committed to the earl of Ormonde—a circumstance soon after productive of some annoyance to the earl. While he was engaged on his expedition against the rebels at Naas, and was pursuing them with such effect that they were loud in their complaints against his severity, a person named Wishart, who had been a prisoner in the rebel encampment, assured lord Blayney and captain Perkins at Chester, that the earl of Ormonde was in secret correspondence with the rebels. The secret instructions of the Irish members, sent through Sir James Dillon to England, and there taken on his person by the parliamentary agents, gave an unlucky colour to this scandal. The character of the earl stood too high for these low missiles to have any effect further than the moment's irritation. The representation was easily shown to be the act of the parties, without the presence or privity of the earl. The calumny of Wishart was brought forward by the earl himself, and

the calumnious charge refuted by the confession of the accuser, who, having for a while absconded, was discovered and arrested by Sir Philip Percival, and brought before the lords at Westminster, on which he denied having ever spoken to the purpose alleged. He acknowledged that he had said to lord Blaney and others at Chester, that the rebels had always notice of the earl of Ormonde's and of Sir C. Coote's military operations: but the rest of the charge, "that his lordship was the means of advertising the enemy, was the mere invention of some persons who maligned the earl's honour and his own reputation."

In the course of 1642, the rebellion became universally diffused; but with its diffusion, it did not gather strength: the efforts of the several leaders and parties of which it was composed, were little directed or invigorated by any pervading unity of aim. The objects of both leaders were mainly directed by their private ambition—those of the people terminated in plunder. They were however resisted, with still more inefficient means, and less consistency of purpose and effort. The lords-justices wavered between fear and vindictive animosity, and relaxed their efforts, or adopted measures of severity, according to the pressure of motives which seldom find their way into the light. They looked anxiously to their patrons, the puritans of England, for the aid which was insincerely promised; and, in the mean time, thought it enough to keep Dublin from the rebels. A suppression of the rebellion by the friends of the king was far from their wish, but they were not the less alarmed and vindictive when the approach of rebel parties awakened their own apprehensions and cut off their resources by seizing upon the neighbouring districts. Thus it was that while they sent out their troops with orders to ruin, waste, and kill, with indiscriminate ravage, in the disaffected districts immediately surrounding Dublin, they restrained the earl of Ormonde from any vigorous and systematic effort to reduce an insurrection ready to fall to pieces of itself, and only requiring a slight exertion of strength to dispel it. We have already noticed the earl's expedition to Naas, and the signal success with which it was attended: we have also had occasion to advert to his short and successful march to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin. At this time the garrison in Dublin had been reduced to great distress, as there was a grievous want of means for their support; the lords-justices, contrary to every precedent of military prudence, had not only exhausted entirely the surrounding district by exorbitant exaction, but by burnings and ravages, ordered on the least provocation. A small reinforcement was sent over, without money or provision, to aggravate their distress, and it was more to employ the discontented troops than to check the operations of a disorderly and marauding army of 3000 rebels, which were posted at Kilsalaghan, that the earl was sent out to meet them. He was accompanied by Lambert, Coote, and other commanders, with 2500 English foot, and 300 horse. The position of the enemy was strong: a country still intersected with ditches of unusual depth, breadth, and strength of old fence, attests the description of Carte, of "a castle called Kilsalaghan, a place of very great strength, in regard of woods, and many high ditches and strong

enclosures and barricadoes there made, and other fastnesses.”* The orders given to the earl were, “not only to kill and destroy the rebels, their adherents, and relievers, and to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, and all the corn and hay there, but also to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.” It was fortunate that the power of this ignorant administration was not equal to its will; and that the sword was committed to one who was as just and merciful in the discharge of his duty as he was prompt and successful. The earl of Ormonde, with as little injury to the surrounding country as the duty in which he was engaged permitted, attacked the difficult and guarded position in which the O'Briens and MacThomases had intrenched themselves, formidable alike in their numbers, position, and the fierce undisciplined bravery of their men; and after a rough and sanguinary contest, drove them from their ditches, and scattered them in rout and confusion over the country.

The lords-justices were at this period strongly urged by the earl and others equally zealous for the termination of a state of affairs so disastrous, to permit them to march to the relief of Drogheda, at that time besieged by the army of Sir Phelim O'Neile. To this they refused their consent; but still feeling the necessity of sending away on some expedition a body of men whom they could not maintain in Dublin, they ordered an expedition towards the river Boyne, alleging the probability that a diversion might be thus created, so as to induce the rebels to raise the siege. On this occasion there seems to have been a resistance to some parts of their order, to waste, kill, and burn, on the part of the earl, who with some difficulty extorted permission to use his own more temperate discretion in the execution of this order. And shortly after, before the departure of the force under his command, he received an intimation from the castle, that the lords-justices having considered the matter, made it their earnest request that he would “stay at home, and let them send away the force now prepared, under the conduct of Sir Simon Harcourt, wherein they desired his lordship's approbation.”† The earl understood the design of this artful and slighting application, and felt no disposition to suffer his office to be thus set aside for purposes so opposed to his own political principles. He was resolved not to let the cause of the king go by default, and the violence and vindictive temper of Sir W. Parsons find scope for indiscriminate and mischievous oppression, by a compliant desertion of his post. He firmly refused to let the army which the king had confided to him, march under any command but his own.

He accordingly marched on the 5th March, with such troops as could be prepared in time, and when he had reached a sufficient distance from town, put the orders of the lords-justices into a course of moderate execution, according to the more merciful terms, which on first receiving their orders he had with difficulty extorted. Instead of spreading indiscriminate destruction and massacre, which if executed according to the will of the castle would have degraded his name

* Carte.

† Ibid.

to the level of Sir Phelim O'Neile's; he wasted the villages only which had been in known concert with the rebels. Even this, it must be admitted, would according to the principles now recognized be still an excess, revolting to policy and justice; but when referred to the warfare of the age, to its opinion, practice, and to the then existing state of the country, it will appear in its own true light, as a mild and indispensable measure of severity. One remark is to be made, that such is the nature of popular insurrection, in which the struggle on the part of the insurgents is necessarily carried on by plunders, murders, and civil crimes, for which their previous habits have prepared them, rather than by military demonstrations, for which they are undisciplined; and it too often occurs that the only resource left for the protection of the social system, requires the adoption of means partaking of the same lamentable character. The spirit of insurrection rising from the lowest ranks, spreads out like a *malaria* upon the face of the country, felt not seen; tracked by fires and the bloody steps of the prowling and assassinating marauder; to the charge or battery of regular war it offers no resistance, and but too often was only to be met by the dreadful justice, which visited the homes of the offending peasantry with the retaliation which is not so much to be excused by the strictness of justice, as by the essential necessity of a resource, which has the effect of turning the torrent upon its fountain; and carrying the just, but fearful lesson, that the secrecy of the midnight crimes, or the mistlike gatherings and dispersions of these freebooting mobs, such as then assumed the much abused pretence of a national cause, though they save their bodies from the crowds on some inglorious field, cannot fail to involve their homes in the ruin, which they in their ignorance and wickedness would inflict upon the unoffending and respectable classes—against whom such hostilities are ever directed.

The earl was not interrupted by the rebel parties which he had expected to meet upon his march, but ere long he received an account that the rebels had raised the siege of Drogheda, and were then in full retreat towards Ulster. It was his opinion and that of his officers that they should be pursued as far as Newry; and as a large force could be spared from Drogheda, it appeared to be a favourable occasion to disperse the insurgents by a decided system of operations, with a force which might not so easily be collected again. The possession of Ulster, once obtained, would leave the rebellion little spirit or power to proceed further. The earl wrote to the lords-justices, stating his plan, and the means of effecting it. They, it is said, were in a "terrible fume" on the receipt of his letter, and without a moment's delay returned an answer forbidding him to cross the Boyne; and reiterating their commands to waste, burn, and destroy, without any distinction of rank or consideration of merit. In the mean time the earl pursued his way to Drogheda, where he consulted with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne, who concurred in his opinion and joined in another letter to the lords-justices. But the plan of enterprise which they had concerted, was broken by the arrival of the letter from the lords-justices, already mentioned. The earl's indignation was strongly excited, he did not think fit to resist the orders of government, but in reply he

told them, "that there was usually such a confidence reposed in the judgment and faithfulness of those that are honoured with the command of an army, as that it is left to them when and where to prosecute and fall upon an enemy; that he took this to be due, though he was content to depart from it, because he would not confidently depend on his own judgment; that they might see lord Moore's and Sir H. Tichburne's judgment, by a letter signed by them and the rest of the chief officers, except the lord Lambert, and Sir R. Grenville, who were left in their quarters for the security thereof, and keeping the soldiers from disorder, but were as far consenting to the execution of that design, as himself who proposed it, or any of the rest who approved of, and signed the letter; that however he was applying himself to perform their last commands, and for that end had sent forth horse to destroy the dwellings of traitors for six miles about, and would quarter the night following at Balruddery, and thence continue his march to Dublin; want of bread causing him not to make use of the short enlargement of time granted in their letter of the 9th, which they could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if they had pursued their design towards Newry." He added, "that with regard to the gentlemen who came in, his method was to put them in safe keeping, and either to send them before, or to bring them along with him to Dublin, without any manner of promise or condition, but that they submit to his majesty's justice; nor did he dispute by what power they came in, leaving it to their lordships to determine that point when they had them in their hands, and he had given them an account of the manner of their coming."

The lords-justices were not to be influenced by such considerations as might appear to the earl of Ormonde of the most imperative moment, for they were governed by motives wholly different. To maintain their own authority; keep the rebellion away from the capital; and at the same time impede all proceedings which would have the effect of giving ascendancy to the friends or partisans of the royal cause, were the guiding principles of their whole conduct. They paid no regard to the strong representations or to the remonstrances of the earl and his officers, who saw in a strong light the real importance of an occasion, for pursuing and extinguishing the insurrection in its last retreats. According to the views of Sir W. Parsons, it was of little consequence what food for future vengeance lay collecting in the north, but it was in the last degree important, that their own hands should be strengthened in Dublin and the surrounding country by the immediate presence of those troops which the zeal of the earl would have directed to more important purposes. Thus then, the communications here mentioned and others which followed, with a laudable pertinacity were set aside, and the earl was compelled to return. He was only allowed to leave a small reinforcement of 500 men with lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne. The whole of this tortuous proceeding is the more worthy of the reader's attention, as it is plainly indicative of the real policy of the puritans, not only in Ireland but in England. The attention of historians of our own time has been singularly misdirected by the propensity of the human mind to look to results, and to form their judgments of men either from the remote consequences of their actions,

or from principles subsequently developed. We, for our part, cordially concur in approving the fortunate and providential results of the great revolution which began in the reign of the unfortunate Charles: but we attribute all these advantages to the providence which overrules the wickedness of men to good events. It is not here permitted us to enter at length into the analysis by which it would be easy to separate the high professions and the low conduct of a revolution begun, and consummated by the perpetration of every political crime; and to prove by the plainest tests that the motives of the *responsible* actors were not merely different from the sounding eloquence of their pretensions, but far more reprehensible than the abuses which they overthrew. There were, no doubt, on either side, a few exalted characters who adopted with sincerity the purest principles of which their several positions admitted; but, upon the whole, the contest was a struggle for unconstitutional power on either side, in which fortunately for England neither party was successful, and both, as the strife advanced, endeavoured *per fas et nefas*, to attain the advantage. The conduct of both may be seen in some respects more clearly by looking to Ireland, the field in which their policy was pursued with least disguise. If the parliament of England was then enabled to dazzle the understandings of their own and after times by impressive commonplaces and specious complaints, and to veil their most unprincipled course in the fair disguise of public spirit and piety; it is plainly to be discerned that they were most recklessly indifferent as to the means. The virtue may be doubted of those zealots who propose to raise the condition of their country by murders, massacres, and confiscations, which may effect the purpose pretended, but offer far nearer advantages to the perpetrators. The politician who is ready to purchase remote and abstract improvement at the expense of torrents of blood, and by the commission of present wrongs, must be either a fanatic, or is indifferent to the real benefits he pretends to seek. There is no real human virtue which would serve the unborn, at the expense of the living. But the understanding and passions of England were to be conciliated by the leaders of that fanatic and intriguing corporation, the regicide house of commons: in the eye of England they endeavoured with the common discretion of all who play the game of revolutionary intrigue, to adorn and veil their purposes with the ordinary cant of civil justice and virtue, the lofty apothegms which cajole the multitude and spread a lying sanction over dishonesty, and impart a spurious elevation to baseness: but in their contempt of Ireland and Irish opinion, the whole truth of their policy was suffered to appear and to leave a record for the cool judgment of aftertimes; Ireland was a by-scene on which they crossed the stage without a mask. To prolong for their purposes a fearful conflict of crime and every evil passion, which the mind of Milton could combine for his description of the infernal habitations:

"Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell;"

such was their manifest policy. But we are treading upon dangerous ground; so much has been latterly written, and ably written, to magnify this party and depress their opponents, that the writer who takes an

opposite view, must be prepared to enter upon a full and minute detail of the entire history of the period.

The lords-justices, at the period of our narrative, appear to have entertained but one solicitude which is not quite explicable; a vindictive eagerness to visit with the utmost severity in their power the parties remotely suspected of any connexion with the rebellion, which they evinced no anxiety to check. To waste, plunder and kill, was the entire substance of their orders to the earl, whose activity to encounter the rebels they impeded. Their vengeance was confined to the territories of the pale, where it was rather directed against the inhabitants than the rebels; and their conduct appeared equally unaccountable on the score of common prudence, for they were unable to maintain the troops which they endeavoured to retain about Dublin in a shameful state of destitution.

On the return of the earl of Ormonde, the rebels at once returned and took possession of Drogheda, Atherdee, and Dundalk. The gallant achievements of Moore and Tichburne, by which they were defeated with comparatively small forces, in several bloody sieges and encounters, occurred in this interval, and have been already related in these pages. We have also taken several occasions to relate the impolitic and unjust treatment received at the same time by lord Dunsany, and other noblemen of the pale, when they came in on the faith of the king's proclamation, to offer their adherence to the government in Dublin. Their rejection forms a consistent part of the case against that government, of which we have here but faintly sketched the outline. This case is strongly aggravated by the iniquitous indictments which at the same time disgrace the courts, and the still more revolting proceedings of the castle, where the rack was freely employed, for the purpose of involving the whole of the Irish nobility and gentry in one sweeping charge of treason and rebellion. These demonstrations may be sufficient *ex abundantia*, to fix the real policy of the castle, and to class these flagitious officials among the lowest of those enemies of the people of Ireland, whose aim it has been to promote insurrection for the service of a small political intrigue. We reserve some special proofs, as we shall be compelled in a subsequent memoir to revert to this topic. These circumstances and this grievous state of affairs at length roused the anxious attention of the king, who very justly considered that his personal presence would be the most likely means to offer some decided check to this tissue of disorder and misconduct. Such a step might probably have been attended with the best results: his coming over would at once have brought to his side every particle of right reason, prudence, or loyalty in the kingdom, and at this period there must still have been a preponderance in favour of his cause. For the Roman catholic clergy had not yet fully entered into the contest; the insurgents had already experienced its danger and folly, and the numerous and respectable body whose part in it had been involuntary, would all, on their own several grounds, have rallied round the standard which would have united them in one cause and feeling. The lords-justices and all their little junto of extortioners, pettifoggers and executioners, would have been set aside.

But a result so inimical to the views of the great and powerful

party by which the king was opposed in England, was not to be quietly effected without resistance. On the 8th April, 1642, the king, by a message to the two houses, communicated his intention, with the obvious reasons which require no detail. In this message he proposed to "raise by his commission in the county of Chester a guard for his own person (when he should come into Ireland,) of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which should be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull."* To this the lords-justices remonstrated, on the grounds of the great power of the rebels, the weakness of the government force, the inadequacy of the means for the support of his majesty's army and court. The parliament urged their pretended solicitude for the personal safety of his majesty: with more sincerity they intimated the encouragement the rebels might derive from the assumption of his countenance: they contradicted the remonstrance of their own officers, the lords-justices, by observing that his presence was rendered unnecessary by the late successes against the rebels, and ended by throwing aside pretexts, and fairly declaring their desire to have the war left to their own management; and their intention "to govern the kingdom by the advice of parliament for his majesty and for his posterity." To this the distressing position of the king's affairs compelled him to submit.

In the mean time, the English parliament concluded a treaty, highly favourable to the system of policy they were pursuing, with their own party in Scotland, by which, without suffering the hazard of their policy, they contrived to arrange with their allies the Scottish commissioners in London for the occupation of the north of Ireland by a body of ten thousand Scottish soldiers. Such was the origin of the armament under Monroe, who landed at Carrickfergus about the middle of April, while the communications just adverted to between the king and parliament were pending. The conduct of Monroe we have already commented upon: it was in precise accordance with the policy here attributed to the parliamentary party, and there can be no ground for hesitation in identifying them. Monroe occupied an influential and central position in Ulster, but only acted so far as appeared necessary for the security of a commanding neutrality; seizing on the king's partisans when they fell into his power; or attacking the rebels when they appeared to endanger his own security. Along with his own force, and under his command, were joined such forces as were subject to the authority of the parliament in that province, making altogether an army sufficiently formidable if commanded to any purpose.

The earl was during these events mainly confined to Dublin a reluctant witness of counsels to which he could little consent, yet had no power to resist. Under these circumstances his conduct was discreet and cautious. It is one of the prominent traits indeed of the character of this great man, that while his conduct was always firm and strenuous, his manner and his professions of opinion were marked by prudent moderation. Where it was vain to resist by actions, and where nothing was to be expected from remonstrance, he quietly

* Husband's Collection, quoted by Carte.

yielded to circumstances, and contented himself with watching for occasions, which, when they presented themselves, were never suffered to pass, though often to the sacrifice of the nearest personal considerations. Of this an instance finds its place here. In the end of March, the lords-justices resolved on sending out a large detachment for their favourite purpose of wasting and burning the lands and tenements of rebels who had left their homes in Kildare. On this expedition the earl of Ormonde received orders to march. The earl, who was always averse from such a task, saw nevertheless an occasion for exploits of a more worthy and honourable kind. He marched out and commenced a series of able and effective operations, which the lords-justices presently attempted to interrupt. The earl's countess and his family, with an hundred protestants who had found refuge at his house in Carrick-on-Suir, had just arrived safely in Dublin, and the lords-justices sent to acquaint him of the event, with permission to join them: the earl declined the insidious offer and pursued his march. He advanced to Kilkullen, Athy, Stradbally and Maryborough, as he went, detaching parties to the relief of the principal castles and forts in the rebels' possession, and securing the country on every side. It was upon this march that the distinguished conduct of Sir C. Coote, who was detached to the relief of Birr, occurred* in the woods of Mountrath.

As the earl was on his return to Dublin, after the full execution of these important services, he was checked near Athy by a strong rebel force under lord Mountgarret, who had under his command the chief rebel leaders with 8000 infantry and several troops of horse. The incident was indeed alarming; for, at this period of the march, the forces of the earl were exhausted, their horses out of serviceable condition, their ammunition spent in supplying the garrisons which they had relieved, and the whole force trifling in numerical comparison with the enemy, which seemed to menace inevitable destruction.

The earl, attended by Sir T. Lucas, took a party of 200 horse, and marched out to reconnoitre, after which he called a council, in which the above circumstances were taken into account, together with the advantageous position of the enemy. It was agreed on to march towards Dublin, and not to attack them, unless they should themselves be tempted to begin, a highly probable event, which would have the effect of altering their position, and placing them in circumstances more favourable for an effective assault. In pursuance of this plan, the earl, with 2500 men, pursued the march to Dublin. In front he detached Cornet Pollard with a party of thirty horse to spread out among the numerous bushes which then covered the road sides, and facilitated those ambushes which were the prevalent danger of Irish war. Next followed Sir T. Lucas with six troops of horse. The baggage of the army filled the intervals: after which came the earl himself leading a troop of volunteers, among whom were lord Dillon, lord Brabazon, and other distinguished persons. Four "divisions" of foot came next, not much like the divisions of modern war, amounting each to three hundred men, and followed by the artillery: after these four other divisions of foot, and

* Vol. II., Life of Sir C. Coote.

then three troops of horse, headed by Sir C. Willoughby; the rear was closed by a few companies of foot led by Sir C. Coote.

They had scarcely gone a mile, when, about three miles off on the other side of a red bog, the long files of glittering pikes appeared in dense order, passing rapidly by the tower of Killika, with the evident design of intercepting them on their march. It must, under these circumstances, have been concluded by the earl, that he was not likely to pass without a battle. His dispositions were prompt and decisive; he caused his pioneers to clear a road on the right, and thus enabled the foot to disengage themselves from the baggage. He sent out Cornet Magrath with thirty horse to observe the rebels' march. He easily inferred that their design was to seize on the pass of Ballysonan, through which his march lay. Not being encumbered by baggage, the rebels marched much faster than the English. But they had a considerable circuit to take, and the earl, anticipating their purpose from their speed, sent on Lucas to seize the pass, with some troops of horse—a movement which may, in some degree, have been favoured by the accident of not having been seen by the rebels, as at this part of the way a hill intervened between the armies. They were thus obscured from each other for about two miles.

The detachment under Lucas was successful, and when the rebels came within view of the pass, they were surprised and mortified to find it in the possession of their enemies. They halted upon the hill side. In the mean time the earl came up: he caused the baggage to be drawn into the rear, and sent to hasten the march of Coote and Grenville.

The rebels were partly seen, as they stood half-way up the hill and facing the pass. They were marshalled with considerable skill, and presented an imposing appearance with their close array and their numerous ensigns waving on the breeze. The earl drew up the four divisions of foot which were on the ground, in order of battle, within "two musquet shot" of them, and marked the places into which the remaining divisions were to fall as they came up. These divisions, or rather companies, hurried forward, and as they were small bodies, were quickly in their places. The earl, without further delay, commanded the whole line to move forward against the enemy, and they advanced at a rapid pace up the hill. They had not gone far before they met with a check, the consequence of which ought to have been fatal, had there been on the enemy's part the skill or promptitude to take advantage of such an incident: their forward movement was interrupted by a hollow which had concealed a hedge until their line was stopped by it, and they were compelled to take a considerable circuit, after which they formed again on the other side within musket shot of the rebels, who should unquestionably have attacked them during this awkward movement. But the courage of undisciplined soldiers, when not excited by action, is always apt to be chilled at the appearance of an enemy's advance. Their leaders could, in all probability, have no authority sufficient to move a body of men, who, though resolved to fight, were waiting to be roused by blows. With this infatuation the rebels stood their ground, and suffered a considerable number of the English to regain their order of assault, and draw up again just beneath them,

without any interruption. This was indeed in some measure aided by the skill of the earl, who contrived to amuse their attention by a continual fire of cannon and musketry, and also, by sending forward several small skirmishing parties; and, while this was going on, Sir T. Lucas, who occupied the right wing of the English, fortunately discovered a wide gap in the hedge, and passed through with three troops of horse. Without a second's delay they charged at a round trot into the left of the rebels, who had manifestly looked on their movements with a wavering resolution. The moment the English horse reached them, they gave way without a blow; and as the infantry at the same time came rushing up the hill, the disorder ran along their line, and immediately the entire of the left wing, with their officers, were hurrying on in a tumultuous and panic-stricken disorder, down towards the red bog. Their horse stood for a few minutes longer, but were charged by Sir C. Grenville at the head of his troop, and followed the fugitives. The right of the Irish were commanded by Mountgarret in person, and comprised the more select companies under Moore, Byrne, and other principal officers: these men looked calmly on the rout of their companions and kept their ground; on them the hope of the rebel chiefs had been fixed. The earl of Ormonde seeing this, advanced in person against them with his volunteers, and three hundred infantry, led by Sir John Sherlock. They maintained their reputation, by standing during the exchange of some volleys, and when the earl began to advance, they retreated in order before him till they reached the top of the hill; there they caught a sight of the bog and their flying companions, and breaking into utter confusion, rushed in wild disorder down the hill. The number of their slain was seven hundred, among whom were numbered several colonels and other officers. The earl lost twenty men. A detailed account of the fight was transmitted by the Irish government to the house of Commons, in which it was read, and afterwards published by their order. In this account the earl is mentioned as "ordering the battle and manner of fight in all the parts of it, and doing it with very great judgment, laying hold quickly and seasonably on all opportunities of advantage that could be gained, and sparing not resolutely to expose his own person to hazard equally with any other commander." The earl, not being allowed the means to follow up this success, returned immediately after to Dublin.

On the May following the synod of the Romish clergy was held in Kilkenny, and those formal acts took place which established the confederate assembly, and gave another form to the rebellion. The history of these events we have introduced in our memoir of the rebel leader Owen O'Neile, with whose arrival in Ireland this change was coincident. In that memoir may be found sufficient extracts from their acts and resolutions, and something of a brief internal view of their designs and composition. We must here be compelled to view them occasionally and at a greater distance, receding in the mass of circumstances.

The lords-justices during this time were hurried on into inconsistencies of conduct, of the motives of which, were it worth a lengthened investigation for so trifling a purpose, it would be hard to give any

very precise explanation. But it may be generally observed that their position was beginning to be a little more intelligible to themselves, as their difficulties increased; and that thus while maintaining the same system of policy in subservience to their puritan masters, they were from time to time alarmed by incidents which made them apprehensive for themselves and doubtful of the safety of carrying much further the inconsistent plan of irritating and insulting, without taking any step for effectual coercion. They had pursued this course from the commencement of the rebellion, scattering vengeance with unsparing and indiscriminate fury, and driving the peaceful and unwilling into rebellion; while with equal constancy they restrained the hands of the earl and his officers from meeting the enemy as they should alone have been met, in the field. Until at last, about the time at which we are arrived, the resources which might but a few months sooner have terminated the war, became exhausted, while the army, in want of every necessary, and unpaid the balance due to them, became insubordinate and refused to march. The parliament of England saw with indifference a state of things favourable to their own purposes; the zeal which they affected was but specious and supplied an ample source for slanders against the king. But it was otherwise with Parsons—he with his colleague in office, was compelled to endure the inconveniences and dangers of such a course. His very safety might depend upon the balance of parties, of whom the majority of those, even on his own side, disapproved of all his proceedings. Thus though willing to paralyze the arms of the earl of Ormonde and of the loyalists, he was anxiously alive to the danger of being left without an army on which he could reckon.

Thus while the officers immediately under the influence of the lords-justices, and who acted in the spirit of their instructions were rousing the towns and cities of Connaught into a second outbreak, by the most wanton and insolent outrages; the lords-justices were petitioning for aids in men and money to the parliament, and striving to force their crippled, starved, naked, and mutinous soldiers to march on their petty expeditions. In this state of things, the rebels were again growing formidable in the western counties. They had been restrained by the spirit, activity, and prudence of the earl of Clanricarde, but the able and judicious combination of force and moderation by which this nobleman induced the most turbulent spirits to submission, was frustrated by the intolerable tyranny of a few parliamentary officers, whose savage and unprovoked brutalities excited a general alarm and resentment. Clanricarde himself was reproved for accepting of submissions; his protection violated, his own people, and even an officer who served under him seized and imprisoned. Lord Ranelagh, then president of Connaught, and the earl of Clanricarde remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, and their representations were strenuously supported in council by the earl of Ormonde. The consequences were not slow to appear in a general and rapid growth of dissatisfaction through the counties of Mayo and Galway, while the rebels were completely masters of the field in Sligo and Roscommon.

In this most alarming condition of affairs, the Irish administration was roused to some show of opposition, and a considerable effort was agreed upon in the council. The earl of Ormonde was ordered to

march with 4500 infantry and 600 horse, for the purpose of re-inforcing the lord-president. Leaving Dublin for this purpose on June 14th, on a service which, from the state of the country at the time, was considered to require his ability and prudence, the earl proceeded on his march. On the way he took the castle of Knocklinch by storm, and gave the rout to a strong party of rebels, who posted themselves to dispute his way in the pass of Ballinacor. Lord Netterville fled at his approach, leaving his castle which he had fortified and burning his town. Sir James Dillon, who had besieged Athlone for six months, retired before him. The lord-president who was shut up there without the means of defence, was thus set at liberty to meet the earl and to receive command of the reinforcement intended for him. The earl of Ormonde marched back to Dublin.

During his absence, the lords-justices had been proceeding in that most insidious and pernicious course of measures, by which they were at the same time working to transfer the king's authority, already reduced to a mere form, to their masters the rebel parliament of England, and swelling the ranks of their enemies by the most unmeasured and unprovoked acts of tyranny. Had their power been levelled directly against the hierarchy and priesthood of the church of Rome, it would be an easy task to vindicate their policy; however we may feel inclined on the score of conscience to acquit that able and consistent body for their steady hostility to the church and government, which they were bound to regard as heretical, there can be little doubt of the reciprocal obligations of those who were by ties of no less force bound to the defence of these institutions. But there was neither wisdom, sound expediency or justice, in the unmerited severities which had the effect of rousing the pride, resentment, and fear of the Roman catholic laity; of driving them into the precincts of a powerful and dangerous hostility, and thenceforth converting religious persuasion into an influential element of political division. These wretched and incapable tools of a grasping and usurping fanaticism had not the power to calculate the full consequences of arousing the action of one of an opposite character, far more longbreathed and vital, because founded upon principles more removed from impulse and enthusiasm. They could not observe, (or reason upon the observation,) how little influence their creeds have upon the main conduct of most men, until they become embodied in the tangible element of party feeling, when the basest felon who is ready to bid defiance to every sacred obligation, will fight to the death for his altar, because it is his party. It is indeed a matter of nicety to mark the line of moderation and firmness; but we are inclined to think that the laity of the Roman church would never have been thus embodied into a religious party, by a line of firm and decisive control, directed against the then visibly dangerous influences of the Roman see. They saw the real state of things, and their predilections were all on the side of the crown and constitution of England. They had with a wise and politic moderation, been satisfied to see their church subsist under restraints by connivances which were the mild but effective outwork against inroads, of which they knew the danger. They were peaceful, submissive, and always prompt to assert their loyalty. But by the policy now adopted it was no longer a matter of individual con-

duct, feeling or opinion; a line of conduct conveying disqualification and prescription beyond the letter of the law, spread terror, discontent and indignation through every rank. The most loyal and influential persons of most counties were first by an order and then by a bill excluded from the parliament, which was then called, and by such a comprehensive insult and injury sifted into a lesser counterpart of the English commons. The alarm and offence were, as ever happens with unpopular measures, still more injurious than the acts; the Roman catholics were terrified with apprehensions of utter extirpation, and it is little likely that such fears were allowed to fall unimproved to the ground. To add to these mischiefs, it was a most flagitious and scandalous part of the system of proceedings at this time adopted, to drive out of Dublin resident gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion, into the arms of those among whom they could only find safety by enlisting in their ranks. That such was the direct design of the lords-justices is indeed the inference of Carte, and upon no slight grounds; he reasons from their letters to the parliament of England, and a variety of circumstances, that being fearful of committing the injustice of a more direct attack on the liberty and property of the Roman catholics, they proceeded to effect their purpose by means which were calculated to work by terror and anger. Among these the principal was an urgent and oft repeated application for permission to bring the penal statutes, which were in fact nothing more than a precautionary provision against dangers always possible, into full and active operation: a step equally precipitate and cruel: whatever were their intentions, the purpose of kindling a universal discontent was effected.

Among the most effective of their opponents, the earl of Ormonde was foremost. His great ability is indeed strongly illustrated by the mere fact of his being enabled to stand his ground and hold a very influential authority under a system of usurpation so grasping, lawless and intriguing. His wisdom, honesty and courage were more than equal to the little official cunning of Parsons; but he was unsupported, and his authority was undermined, by powers against which he was altogether unprovided with any means of resistance: he was even tied down by those very laws which his opponents only regarded as instruments to be used and thrown aside. His movements against the rebels were overruled; his attempts to moderate the councils of government slighted; his efforts to protect the innocent baffled and counteracted. His private fortune was chiefly in the hands of the rebels, and his pay as the king's lieutenant-general was withheld. The difficulties with which he had to strive were great beyond the possibility of any ordinary stretch of apprehension. In his command he was thwarted and crossed by the earl of Leicester, at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but living in England, from which he sent his orders at the prescription of parliament, which had thus the disposal of every thing. And thus even the army under the earl of Ormonde's nominal command was officered by his enemies, the creatures and servants of the parliament, so far as this change could be brought about by filling the vacancies as they fell. To this injustice the earl was compelled to submit, for though the inconvenience of which it was productive was quickly and severely felt, and though on the earl's application, the king

gave his express warrant empowering him to appoint his officers; yet such was the difficulty of the king's position, and the necessity of conciliating his powerful enemies, that it was thought wise to keep this warrant secret for a time; a most unwise course and evidently tending to cause future misunderstandings, if the earl should in any way have recourse to what would thus seem to be an unwarranted assumption of authority. And such indeed was the actual consequence when on the death of Sir C. Coote, the earl appointed lord Dillon to his command. The earl of Leicester was violently offended; while the earl of Ormonde was placed in an embarrassing situation, and both parties were impelled to maintain their assumed right, by complaints and angry representations. The earl of Ormonde on this occasion felt himself obliged to assert his right and support lord Dillon, whose claims on the score of public service and private friendship were such as to make it both unjust and embarrassing to insult him by withdrawing his appointment. Another instance of the same nature occurred on the appointment of Sir Philip Perceval, and on this occasion the language of the earl of Leicester seems strangely inconsistent with the fact that he really took no concern in the duties of his office, and that, unless for the purpose of embarrassing the king and the actual administration of Ireland, he took no part in the affairs of a country which he did not even think fit to visit. The assertion that "the lieutenant-general had not given him so much as the respect due to a private colonel, who in most places have the naming of their own officers," involves a singular confusion of ideas, as it precisely describes the injustice which the earl sustained from his lordship's interference, and has very much the tone of the wolf accusing the lamb in one of *Æsop's* fables. Yet this absurd resentment of lord Leicester was genuine; so great was his wrath on this occasion, that he would not write to the earl, but sent over to his own son lord Lisle, a commission for another to fill the command given to Perceval. The inconvenience of this proceeding was no less apparent than the injustice was glaring, and Perceval himself had probably some interest in the castle, for the council interfered in his behalf. The earl sent over Sir Patrick Wemyss, when the earl of Leicester met him before the king at York, and had the effrontery to justify his own conduct, and to hazard a declaration that no one should be admitted to any command without the consent of parliament. The king felt himself compelled to support his own servant, and from the house of Sir Thomas Leigh, where he was then residing, he wrote to the Irish lords-justices and council "that it was by his own special command and authority under his hand, that the earl of Ormonde had, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, conferred upon divers persons several places in the army; that he had given him this authority to encourage the soldiers to exert themselves with greater readiness and vigour, in obeying and executing his commands in the important services wherein they were employed against the rebels there; for which it was necessary that the commander in chief should have a power to prefer them, and that it was his will and command, that all such persons as had been already, or should hereafter be so preferred by the said lieutenant-

general of the army, in the absence of the lord-lieutenant, should be continued in places and commands."*

The resolution of the king on this occasion was become necessary. The commissions of the earl of Ormonde were still subject to be rendered of little avail if the lord-lieutenant should think proper to visit Ireland in person. Of these commissions the first was terminable on such an event, and the second placed his authority entirely under the discretion of the lord-lieutenant; there is also much reason to think that such is the course which would have been adopted for the mere purpose of setting aside one whose known principles were not to be reconciled with the parliamentary policy of keeping Ireland disturbed to weaken the king; the castle of Dublin was even got ready for the reception of the earl of Leicester. But this part of the design was rendered null, by a new commission to the earl of Ormonde appointing him to hold his command directly from the king and independently of any other authority; he was also at the same time advanced to the dignity of marquess. These arrangements had an immediate and salutary effect, and very much tended to counteract the efforts then made to engage the army in Ireland to declare for parliament. For this purpose, among other means of a less ostensible character, a draught of a declaration to be signed by the officers of the army was prepared, and submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, who objected to its main averments ascribing the success of the government in keeping down the rebellion, to the counsels of the administration, and praying in the king's name for a compliance with his parliament. The marquess produced an amended draught, removing these objectionable points, and changing the last mentioned prayer into a form, "that the parliament by its timely compliance with the king, would save the nation," the declaration in consequence fell to the ground.

The military events of this interval, composing chiefly the history of the year 1642, have been already related. The battle of Liscarrol was won by the earl of Inchiquin. The various battles and other incidents which marked this period of the rebellion in the counties of the west and south, are not such as to need repetition. Owen O'Neile's arrival in July, and the confederacy in Kilkenny are fully detailed in the memoir of this leader. We have also had occasion to mention the use which the king's enemies in England made of these incidents to embarrass him more deeply and to increase their own strength, by levies of men and money under the cover of an Irish expedition. As the rupture between the king and parliament rapidly approached its full maturity, the lords-justices encroached with more boldness, decision and success, on the authority of every adherent of the king in Ireland; and the marquess found himself involved in deeper difficulties. The absolute exhaustion of all resources of a public or private nature reduced him to the painful position of looking on during the entire mismanagement of affairs which were nominally under his charge. His own debts were accumulated to a great amount, and his property had become unproductive. In the same year he was attacked by a violent fever, which brought him

to the brink of the grave, and he had not well recovered when the marchioness and lord Thurles were seized with an illness of the most alarming nature. During his illness the marquess dictated a letter to Sir Philip Perceval, addressed to the king, a part of which will give the reader a lively idea of the condition of things at that time:—He represented the condition of his own estate, which he said “was torn and rent from him by the fury of the rebellion, and nothing left to support his wife and children whilst the rebellion should last, but his majesty’s great goodness, which had never failed him, and which he besought his majesty to extend towards them, by making some honourable provision for them, till his own estate might be so settled as thereout they might receive convenient maintenance. He added, that his estate was at present in such circumstances, that if his majesty did not in his abundant goodness think of some course, how his debts (as great part whereof had been contracted and drawn upon him in his majesty’s service) might be thereafter satisfied, his house and posterity must of necessity sink under the weight thereof, since they were many and great, and the interest growing thereupon would in a short time exceed the debts. As an help towards the payment thereof, or at least as a means to prevent their increasing, he besought his majesty to grant him, or (if he died of that sickness) to the lord Thurles, so much of the tenements and hereditaments in the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, as should accrue to his majesty by forfeiture, and owed rent or service to him or his wife; this being conceived to be in the king’s free disposal, as not being within the intent of the late act in England, which seemed to extend only to lands to be admeasured, and not to houses.”*

The lords-justices availed themselves of the illness of the marquess, to make some very influential alterations in the army. These we must pass in order to confine this memoir within reasonable limits. At this time, and during the year 1643, the efforts made to draw the army into the service of the parliament were unremitting and unconcealed: but the main sinew of all such efforts was wanting: the parliament had no desire to waste its resources on Irish ground. The army was found untractable: the soldiers had nothing more than a penurious subsistence, and the condition of the officers was deplorable indeed: they did not receive any pay, and were suffering all conceivable privations. An insidious attempt was made to bribe them with a most fallacious expectation: a book was made and sent round to the officers for subscription, in which they were to declare their free consent to take portions of the rebels’ lands, “when they should be declared to be subdued,”† in lieu of their arrears and pay. To give the more speciousness to this trick, the official persons of the Irish government subscribed; and thus, many officers were drawn in. The officers however who had subscribed, and many who had not, insisting on certain further security, soon found reason to suspect the real design, and retracted; nor could they be satisfied until the book was given up to a committee of their own body. A remonstrance which the earl of Kildare and other principal officers in consequence drew up, will give the most authentic view of

* Carte.

† Ibid.

the real state of military affairs at that time, and no small insight into the views of every party. In their preamble they mention their having appealed in vain to the parliament for the supply of their wants, and having failed in every application, they were obliged to appeal to his sacred majesty, &c., and they then go on to state, "that as well by the act of parliament in England, as by the covenants with the lord-lieutenant, and by the promises of the lords-justices and council of Ireland, they were to have their pay made good to them as well for their carriages as themselves and their soldiers. That both officers and soldiers had faithfully answered all services that could be expected from them, not only in the frequent hazard of their lives, but also in the constant discharge of their duties. That notwithstanding the starving condition of the army, all the extremity of strictness in musters was put upon them, with an oath tendered as well to the soldiers as officers, which could not but leave upon them a character of distrust of their integrity in the cause; and yet they had no assured hopes of assistance, but rather their fears increased of having the highest severities used to them in these checks, which in an army so ill paid and oppressed with want and misery, was without precedent. That in all armies military offences, of what nature soever, had been punishable by martial law only, and no other; a privilege which they pleaded, and maintained to be inseparable to their profession. That there never had since the beginning of the service been any account made with them, so as if they should miscarry, their heirs were ignorant what to demand, which not only discouraged the officers, but disabled them to subsist and continue in the service. That with all humility they craved leave to present to the memories of the lords-justices and council, what vast sums of money had been raised and paid in England for the advancement of the service and supply of their wants in Ireland; a great part whereof had been otherwise applied, even when their necessities were most pressing, and the cause most hopeful. That when their expectations were most set upon the performance of what was justly due to them, the small pay issued out was given them in a coin, much a stranger to that wherein the parliament had paid it, and yet continued to be so, though publicly disallowed by them; by which means the officers suffered an insupportable loss, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes out of their general calamities: a crime they conceived highly censurable; and if in indigent times so much strictness were needful in the army, they conceived it as necessary for the state to find out such offenders, and to measure out a punishment suitable to an offence of so high an abuse. *That their arrears, which were great, might be duly answered them in money, and not in subscriptions, which they conceived to be an hard condition for them to venture their lives on:* and likewise humbly offered it to consideration, whether they might not be thought to deserve rewards in land without other price, as well as in former rebellions in that kingdom, others had done. For these reasons, in acquittal of themselves to God, the king, the cause, the country, and the state of Ireland, they had thus represented their condition, craving what their rights and necessities required for them, that they might be duly answered what was, or should be due to them in their employ-

ment according to their capitulation, their services being justly esteemed. Musters without oath, unless duly paid; checks according to the articles of war; their offences limited to the proper judicatory, their own oppressors found out, and punished exemplarily, with satisfaction to those they had wronged; that their pay might be converted only to the use the act of parliament had prescribed; their accompts speedily made up according to their several musters; their arrears secured, and due provision to be made for the subsistence of officers and soldiers. All this they desired might be answered otherwise than by verbal expressions, and that their lordships would speedily make it appear that there was a real care taken for their subsistence; or otherwise, by receiving so small hope of further assistance from the parliament (of England) their lordships would leave them to themselves, to take such course as should best suit to the glory of God, the honour of the king, and their own urgent necessities."

This remonstrance was entrusted to the care of the marquess, who communicated it to the council. The lords-justices were anxious to appease the army, and equally unwilling to forward their petition to the king. They suppressed the paper, but made an attempt, at the same time ineffective and oppressive, to levy a small sum for the relief of the officers. The marquess when he ascertained their design of withholding the petition, himself enclosed it to the king.

At this time an anxious effort was made by the nobles of the rebel party, and seconded as anxiously by the king's friends, to effect a pacification. The lords-justices opposed the proceedings adopted for this purpose by every method in their power: among other courses adopted for this end, none was so likely to be successful as the promotion of active hostilities: a course indeed otherwise rendered necessary by the active operations of an enemy which moved unresisted in every direction. The presence also of an army which they found no means to pay, and could ill restrain, was not very convenient, and it was on every ground desirable to send them out of town on some expedition where they might be more useful and less troublesome. With this view, the army was ordered out to take possession of Ross and Wexford, under the command of lord Lisle; this expedition had already been strongly urged by the marquess, but deferred by the lords-justices for the expected arrival of the lord-lieutenant. The marquess now came forward and declared his intention to command the troops in person, and the declaration was a shock to the council. They had subscribed to facilitate their object, but on this disappointment, they were strongly urged by the parliament committee, who governed all their conduct, and in fact, presided over the Irish council, to withhold the money. With this intention the council passed a vote, declaring that "the intended expedition should be left wholly to the lieutenant-general and the council of war, notwithstanding any former debate or resolution taken by the board concerning the same."*

On March 2d, 1648, the marquess left town with 2500 foot, and 500 horse. After taking Castle Martin, Kildare and other castles on

* *Cat. te.*

the way, they proceeded by easy marches toward Ross, where he arrived on the 12th, and erected his battery before the walls.

The garrison was inconsiderable, but the rebel army lay in great force in the vicinity, and during the night 1500 men were added to their strength.

The marquess anxiously awaited the vessel which the council had agreed to send after him with bread and ammunition, but of this the motives of their party policy served to retard the execution. Under various pretences it was deferred until the wind became unfavourable, and the marquess, after seeing his troops suffer severely, was compelled to send for supplies to Duncannon fort, from which the governor, lord Esmond, forwarded to him all the bread and ammunition he could spare: with these he also sent his own bark, and another vessel mounting a small gun, which for a time gave much trouble to the garrison, but a battery was planted against it, and as the wind and tide were unfavourable to escape, the crews were compelled to leave their vessels and make the best of their way to the marquess.

Unable to wait any longer for supplies of which he must have had slight expectation, the marquess opened his fire, and a practicable breach was soon effected. He commanded an assault; but the garrison were in fact as strong as their assailants; and these were retarded by woolpacks and other obstacles under the cover of which they were repulsed with some loss. The position of the marquess was become perplexing enough, his whole stock of food amounted to four biscuits a man, and at this moment general Preston hung upon his rear with 6000 foot, and 650 horse. The marquess called a council, and after considering all circumstances, resolved to face Preston, and take the alternative of a battle, or a retreat towards Dublin. On his advance, Preston retired towards a strong line of wood and bog, and was joined by the body of men which he had thrown into Ross. The marquess took his ground for the night on a large heath within two miles of Ross, and within sight of the rebel quarters. On the next morning early, he observed that they were in motion, and conjecturing from their movements that they intended an attack, he rode up to Sir H. Willoughby the serjeant-major-general, and gave orders for the disposition of his little army. The soldiers of the marquess were drawn up in battle array on the slope of a rising ground, with the six pieces of artillery between the divisions. Between the two armies there lay a low swell of the ground just sufficient to conceal the infantry from each other. To the top of this both generals sent out small parties, which returned without coming to blows. After closely inspecting the ground, the marquess gave orders to Willoughby to advance the men to the top of the hill, as they would thereby gain the advantage of the sun and wind. Willoughby obeyed his orders, but a mistake was committed by the lieutenant of the ordnance who neglected to bring forward the guns. While this error was repaired, the enemy's horse collected for an attack in a broad lane between two high ditches: two regiments were advanced to oppose them, and drawn up against the entrance of the lane, and as this for a short time had the expected effect of checking their intended movement, the two culverins were in the interval brought up and planted to advantage, so as to bear into the mouth of

the lane: when this was completed, the two regiments were commanded to open to the right and left, very much in the style of Milton's rebel host, who probably took a hint from the battle of Ross, which was fought perhaps before the composition of his poem: the reader may recollect the manœuvre in *Paradise lost*,* which we should here quote, but that thirty lines of verse would be an unsuitable interruption in the middle of a fight. As the English infantry unfolded their front "to right and left," the culverins discharged their contents upon the rebel cavalry with such effect, that eighty men were killed at one fire: they were thrown into a panic, and with cries of dismay and terror, rushed out of the lane into the next field. The cannon of the marquess were that day worked by Sir T. Esmond's seamen, who maintained their fire with unusual skill and effect, by which means the disorder of the enemy's cavalry was kept up; the marquess sent orders to his cavalry, commanded by lord Lucas and lord Lisle, to charge them. This charge was rendered in some degree difficult by the hot cannonade which the English sailors kept up, and the entrance into the park was obstructed by a formidable ditch. The gallant officers nevertheless promptly obeyed their lieutenant-general's command, and rode up to the ditch in a style not unworthy of Melton, where the ditches are not often as formidable, and the steeds much better. Lucas had the misfortune to be thrown with his horse, and before he could rise, was severely wounded in the head. Lisle's horse was so severely wounded that he was forced to mount another: a confused and desultory skirmish which was rather individual than collective, ensued: and thus the two bodies continued for a long time mixed together, and fighting man to man. During this time the marquess was in great uneasiness about his horse, as the confusion of the combatants was so great. He now decided to cross the ditch and to attack the main body, which as yet stood inert under the fire of the battery which had played on their ranks from the commencement of the cavalry's charge. He caused a strong party of the musqueteers to fire a few volleys upon them while he led his men across the ditch; and when they had come within a convenient distance, the word was passed to charge, and setting up a loud cheer, the English rushed forward against the enemy. The enemy did not await the collision; but turning about, fled in great confusion over the bog. The flight continued until they reached a hill on the other side where they had quartered the night previous. Here they attempted a stand, but on four regiments moving forward to attack them, they turned again and continued their flight until they had the Bannow between them and danger. Preston then ordered the bridge to be broken behind them: his loss amounted to five hundred men, with all his ammunition and baggage: among the slain were many persons of rank. The marquess lost twenty men. His victory was complete, but the conduct of his cavalry gave rise to mysterious doubts and suspicions: as the result of their charge was both unusual and difficult to be accounted for on any supposition, but that they were privately, under some influence, engaged to counteract the operations of the marquess. They were in point of number nearly equal to the rebels, who, in addition

* *Paradise Lost*, book VI. 558.

to the state of confusion and flight in which they were assailed, were extremely inferior in all respects, both in men, horses, arms and discipline; nor could it on any reasonable ground, drawn from previous experience, be imagined that they could continue for a few minutes to exchange blows with their opponents, without being routed with much loss: such had, till then, been the uniform result, and mostly under circumstances less favourable to the English. On the flight of Preston's foot, his cavalry were allowed to march off without further molestation, to the great vexation of the marquess, who clearly saw that some sinister influence had accompanied him to the field, and paralyzed one of his most effective arms, so as very much to impair the value of his victory. Preston had indeed committed an oversight, in a very high degree advantageous to the earl's subsequent movements: as it was imperatively necessary that he should lead back his men, destitute as he was of all means of subsisting them or keeping the field. He must otherwise speedily have become involved in difficulties, which would place him at the mercy of a force like Preston's, overwhelming in numbers, and amply provided with every munition of war. Had Owen O'Neile been in the place of Preston, he would undoubtedly have pursued a far different course; instead of the unpardonable mistake of a battle, he would have watched with Fabian caution the movements of an exhausted enemy who had neither food nor ammunition for more than the effort of an hour: he would have hung upon his retreat, which could not have been postponed another day, and pursued his daily diminishing numbers and exhausted force into the defiles and dangerous passes of sixty miles of most difficult march; and before half of its difficulties were overcome, he would have burst upon his exhausted and broken troops at some unfavourable moment, and with twenty men to one, have rendered even a struggle hopeless. Instead of this, Preston, having rashly ventured the fight, with the precipitance of fear, overlooked the real condition of the conquerors, and to prevent a pursuit which was not to be expected, by breaking down the bridge over the Bannow he cut off his only prospect of success, and secured the retreat of the marquess. By this ill-conceived step of his enemy, the marquess was left unmolested by a foe, to pursue his difficult and distressing march over a road nearly impervious to his artillery and baggage; and which presented difficulties formidable to his officers and men. In the mean time, the distress of the lords-justices was fast increasing: they were become so destitute of all means of support for the small garrison retained in Dublin, that at last they were compelled to quarter them upon the inhabitants who were themselves in a condition not much better. The suffering in consequence rose to a considerable height, and the fear much greater; for while the citizens were deserting their homes, under the apprehension of approaching destitution, it was known that the marquess, with his famishing army, were on their approach to the city. To ward off this severe emergency, some means were taken by the government, but ere they could in any way be effective, the marquess arrived. The effect was deplorable; to have the slightest hope of maintaining the army thus unseasonably increased, they were not only forced to expel all strangers, amounting to many thousand English; but were compelled to make a second inroad upon the merchants' stores, which

deprived them of all their remaining commodities, and was insufficient to remedy the evil.

We shall not here need to dwell on the treaties and commissions which commenced about this time between the king's commissioners and the confederates. We have already in several memoirs, had occasion to notice them as fully as their intrinsic importance demands. The reader is probably aware of the general view which we have taken of the conduct and designs of the two main parties thus opposed to each other. The popular party and their opponents are at this time little to be recognized in their real and peculiar characters, from the overwhelming agency of a party and of a policy, wholly distinct from either: and of which it was the present object to keep up the contention between them. This fact is here the more essential to our purpose to notice: because in strongly animadverting on the line of conduct observed by this middle party, the parliamentary rebels of England, it has been difficult to preserve with any tolerable distinctness the just line between the actual parties of Irish growth; a difficulty much increased by the complication which existed in the composition of the popular party. There were the mob, under the control of their spiritual guides, who acted solely with the view of obtaining the ascendancy of their church: they were mainly headed by a class of adventurers, who while they were subservient to those, had purposes entirely peculiar to themselves. Another great party who acted with these, but under the influence of far other motives, were the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, who were driven to arms by the wrongs and insults they had received from a government, equally cruel, unjust, and insolent to all, and acting under the authority of the rebel parliament of England. It was unfortunate, and led to much added bitterness, and has left prejudices not yet abated, that this confusion of objects and interests was not at the time sufficiently understood or allowed for. The Roman catholic lords, by confusing their own cause with that of the clergy, rendered redress difficult, and gave a tone of injustice and extravagance to their complaints by demands which were embodied in most of their state papers, and which we believe to have been very far from their real objects: and thus it occurred that their real, just and constitutional complaints, were not very unreasonably classed with the pernicious and exorbitant demands with which they were thus embodied. Far worse at the time than these, was the animosity pervading the minds of the mass on either side, always incapable of just distinctions, and never correctly informed: to all of these, one impression distorted by a million fears and rumours, refracted into every monstrous uncouth and unholy shape through the universal atmosphere of terror that had fallen upon the country, presented itself to the apprehension: it was the combined effect of the worst crimes committed by fanatics, plunderers, or oppressors, in each of the many parties and political sects which on either side were confused together. The most moderate of the rebels were involved in the massacres committed by the banditti of O'Neile and his plundering confraternity: while the most humane, loyal and temperate of the protestants were not free from the odium of the parliamentary puritans, who had an equal disregard for both. To these reflections we shall here only add, that having attentively per-

used the documents of a public nature in which the representations of each of these parties is set forth, we should be reluctant wholly to subscribe to any one of them. But generally speaking, the real objects of the aristocracy on both sides only required to be sifted from demands that were not sincere, and reproaches which were not just, to bring them to a perfect agreement.

It is to the immortal honour of the marquess of Ormonde, to have stood clear from the crimes and prejudices of both parties, and to have been trusted and honoured by the wise and good of all; an honour more conspicuous, because of all the great public men of his day, it can be claimed by himself and the earl of Clanricarde alone. While he beat the rebels in the field of battle and resisted the lords-justices in council, he was at the same time anxiously watching for every occasion to bring about that peace which was so desirable to all, on the most just and equitable basis. The confederates forwarded their remonstrance, already quoted in this volume, to the king, who sent to the marquess, observing strongly the impossibility of complying with some of the petitions it contained. He was equally unfavourable to a letter which he received from the lords-justices and council. The terms proposed by either party were indeed sufficiently extreme, to leave room for ample modifications between; if the Roman catholic lords would alter the entire existing constitution of Irish laws and government in favour of their own party, the lords-justices were as importunate in their remonstrances against any peace with the rebels, unless on the terms of a universal forfeiture of the estates of all who had taken arms, without any distinction of persons or circumstances. The marquess of Ormonde, disapproving of the misrepresentations by which they were endeavouring to mislead, and at the same time harass and distress the king, sent over private messengers to rectify these mischievous and delusory statements. This expedient had been indeed prevented for some time, as the lords-justices in their displeasure at the result of a former communication to the king by means of which the marquess was vested with new powers, endeavoured to remove the future recurrence of such an inconvenience, by an order in council, that "the lieutenant-general of the army should licence no commander, officer, or soldier of the army to depart out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever, without the allowance of the board first had obtained, &c."* The order had been easily passed in council, where for many months there was no attendance of any but the most obsequious of the lords-justices' own creatures, as the intrusion of the committee of the English parliament who were allowed to sit in the council and govern all its proceedings, had the effect of disgusting and deterring every respectable person of any authority or independence. Hearing this, the king sent over an express prohibition against this irregularity, so inconsistent with his own authority where it was as yet least impaired. The Irish council which had not yet arrived at the point of direct defiance of the royal authority, was compelled to yield in a case where it had acted with manifest illegality; and the parliamentary officers were excluded. Of this the immediate consequence was the

* Carte.

return of the seceding members, who being most of them favourable to the king, the order above cited was revoked, and the marquess was thus enabled to communicate with the king. He was joined by several members of the council in a letter, stating the distress of the army, the great difficulties to which they had been reduced by the want of money, the miserable exhaustion of the kingdom, and the dangerous consequences to be speedily apprehended in case they should be left in the same condition any longer, and praying for his majesty's directions how they were to act under the circumstances.* This letter was sent by Sir P. Wemyss. In the mean time the marquess had much to do to prevent all his officers from throwing up their commissions and returning to England. They had long borne the absolute privations to which they were subjected by the want of their pay, as evils not to be remedied; but their resentment was excited by petty attempts to defraud them in the small instalments, which the government were seldom able to pay. They sent in a petition to the Irish parliament, full of strong and true complaints, both of the misapplication of the remittances made for their support, and of the imposition effected by means of a light coin; and desiring their lordships "to call Mr vice-treasurer, his ministers, and all others employed about the receipts and disbursements aforesaid, to a present strict account of all moneys sent out of England and issued here since October 23d, 1641, and also to take notice of other of his majesty's rights misapplied to private uses; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to enforce a present satisfaction, that may in some measure relieve the distressed army which now groans under the burden of these wrongs, and extreme wants; and further to take into your considerations the necessities of the said officers and soldiers, which if there may not be subsistence for them in this kingdom, your lordships cannot but know, will consequently enforce them to quit the same, and abandon this service."†

The lords-justices met the embarrassment which the discussion of this petition would have occasioned, by the prorogation of parliament, just as it was entering upon the consideration of the subject. The parliament desired to have the prorogation suspended, which was refused; they next desired to be informed of the reasons for the prorogation; to this an answer was also refused. The lords therefore ordered a letter to be written by the lord-chancellor to be laid before the king, and directed the draught of this to be first submitted to the marquess of Ormonde, the lord Roscommon, and lord Lambart, in order that they might see that a full statement was made of their endeavours to discuss the petition, their reasons, their sense of the state of the army and the necessity of some immediate interposition for their relief. But in reality the king had no means to remedy the evil, and the English parliament no will. The lords-justices who, with all their acquiescence in the policy of the English commons, had begun to fear the full extent to which that policy would be carried, or the full effects which might recoil on their own government, were at this moment in the deepest perplexity. They had paralyzed the military operations of the marquess, until it was too late; they had roused all parties into a union to resist

* Carte I. p. 414.

† Carte.

them. They now saw themselves in the midst of a disturbed and irritated country, without men, money or food. In this condition they, too, made the most earnest appeals to the parliament in letters, which gave the most appalling and heart-rending pictures of the ruinous condition of Dublin, and of the abject condition of helplessness to which they were reduced. They also vindicated their own conduct, by one of those partial statements of facts so familiar to all who know the common arts of faction: omitting their own previous errors, which were the entire cause of all the existing evils, they exhibited the true facts of their unavailing and not very laudable efforts to retard the ruin they had blindly drawn down, by turning it upon the merchants and citizens of Dublin, whom, in good set terms they acknowledge themselves to have plundered freely and unreservedly, for the support of the government. The parliament of England which had gone on amusing them, and urging them on their purblind courses with high promises which were never kept, now saw that their purpose was gained for the present, and turned a deaf ear to all their complaints. The application here mentioned was the last official act of Parsons. The king who had repeatedly been irritated by his conduct and felt all through that he was betraying him to his implacable and bitter enemies, was at last made aware of acts of more unequivocal treachery, of which he had hitherto been kept in ignorance. He had not been acquainted with the fact that Sir W. Parsons, in all his official acts had looked solely to the authority of the parliament, with which he kept up a direct, constant and confidential communication, while his communications with his majesty were but formal and for the most part partial and illusory; being in fact framed on the suggestion of the commons, and to forward their aims. On receiving certain intimations of this fact, the king without further delay, ordered a commission to be made out appointing Sir H. Tichburne in his place.

It was under the general state of affairs here related, that the king began very clearly to see that it was full time to put an end to a war which could not be maintained, and which must terminate in the ruin of every party. He therefore sent to the marquess of Ormonde a commission to conclude a cessation with the rebels. The preamble of this commission is a correct statement of the question, as between himself and his enemies. "Since his two houses of parliament (to whose care at their instance he had left it to provide for the support of the army in Ireland, and the relief of his good subjects there,) had so long failed his expectation, whereby his said army and subjects were reduced to great extremities; he had thought good for their preservation, to resume the care of them himself; and that he might the better understand as well the state of that kingdom as the cause of the insurrection, he had thought fit to command and authorise the marquess of Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army there, with all secrecy and convenient expedition, to treat with his subjects in arms, and agree with them for a present cessation of arms for one year, in as beneficial a manner as his wisdom and good affection for his majesty should conceive to be most for his honour and service; and as through the want of a full information of the true state of the army and condition of the country, he could not himself fix a judgment in the case, so as to be able to

prescribe the particulars thereof, he referred the same entirely to the lieutenant-general, promising to ratify whatsoever he upon such treaty should conclude and subscribe with his own hand in that business.”*

This step was indeed anxiously looked for by all whose passions were not strongly engaged in this ruinous conflict. The provinces were harassed by desultory but destructive war between leaders who on either side maintained themselves by resources destructive to the country. The new government endeavoured in vain to restore the trade which the old one had destroyed. A proclamation informed the trading part of the community that they might expect to be paid for their goods; but there were little goods to be had from a wasted and impoverished land, and on these an excise amounting to half the value, amounted to a species of partnership not much to the encouragement of trade.

We have already had occasion† to give some account of the negotiations for the cessation, and to advert as fully as we consider desirable, to the conduct of the several parties while it was carried on with much interruption and many difficulties. It may be enough here summarily to mention, that it was mainly rendered difficult by the unwillingness of two great sections of the rebel party, who threw every obstacle in the way of any conclusion between the government and the rebels, short of the entire concession of their own several objects; these were the ecclesiastical party, who were under the control of the Roman cabinet, and of whom the majority either from inclination or compulsion entered into its policy; and the old Irish chiefs, of whom Owen O’Neile was now the leader, whose object was the recovery of certain supposed rights, and the resumption of their ancient state and authority. In consequence of these divisions, it so happened that while one party was engaged in treaty, another was actively pursuing hostilities, and many of the principal battles which we have had to notice, took place while the confederates were actually engaged in negotiation with the marquess, and other noblemen who co-operated with him for the purpose of restoring peace to the country. Much delay also arose from the effect of the successes of those who were continuing the war, which caused the confederates to raise their demands and assume a tone of insolence not to be submitted to in prudence. The marquess in his turn was reluctant to allow the enemy to gain advantages unresisted, and was occasionally compelled to defer the treaty for the purpose of defeating manœuvres, which the rebels were assiduous in practising under every pretence. The difficulties which arose in the council were not less than those among the confederacy; entirely overlooking the utter prostration of their own military force and the increased armies of the rebels, and mainly engaged in a miserable attempt to induce the English commons, by the most absurd misrepresentations, to some active effort to carry on the war, they wasted the time in opposition, and were met on the part of the marquess by demands for means to carry on the war: he asked for soldiers and money, and silenced their reasons without conquering their obstinacy. And thus the first commission for a treaty, sent over in April, came to nothing.

* Carte.

† Life of Owen O’Neile.

On August 31st, another commission was sent over; and the commissioners on the part of the confederates met the marquess with more moderate demands, insomuch that the only obstacle which prevented their full agreement arose from the difficulty of settling the quarters of the parties. During the discussion of this point, the prospect of any amicable conclusion was much endangered by the ignorant interference of the council which opposed the temporary cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding this interruption, the parties came to an agreement by which the king was to receive £30,000 from the confederates, in money and beeves, to be paid in several instalments during that year. The treaty was signed September 15th, and publicly proclaimed through the kingdom.

The cessation now concluded was in a high degree unacceptable to the popular portion of the confederacy. It was still more so to the rebel parliament of England; a fact deserving of notice for the side light which it throws upon this period of English history, which is also a standing theme of party misrepresentation. The general view upon which the foregoing narrative has been mainly framed, as well as our particular sentiments as to the conduct and policy of this flagitious parliament, derive much valuable confirmation from an able and authoritative document from the hand of Sir Philip Perceval, who was himself appointed under the authority of that very parliament by lord Leicester, commissary-general of Ireland; and who had therefore the more intimate means of knowing the most minute particulars, both of the condition of the Irish army, with its means of subsistence and operative efficiency, and of the actual conduct of the parliament compared with their pretensions to the conduct of Irish affairs. This body was as violent in its denunciations of any overture towards peace, as it was remiss in support of the war: its members were content that every process of extirpation should destroy every sect and party, popular, aristocratic, priestly, royal and parliamentarian, provided only that a peace favourable to the king might be obstructed. And as they were as harsh, summary and absolute in vindicating their authority as they were prompt to assume the language of constitutional principle, when complaints were to be maintained against the prerogative of the crown, it became necessary for one of their own officers, a man of virtue and ability, to defend the conduct of himself and his colleagues in the Irish parliamentary government, for their assent to the cessation. In Sir Philip Perceval's vindication of this measure, a plain irrefragable and uncontradicted statement of the main facts is to be found, which we have noticed directly, or taken into account in our general commentary. Sir Philip commenced by adverting to the charges against him as a consenting party to the cessation; he regretted "that it was necessary for the vindication of the truth of his injured reputation, ingenuously to offer to their honours' consideration, that nothing but want and necessity, not feigned, but imminent, real, and extreme necessity, and the exceedingly great discontents of the army, to the apparent danger of the sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction of the remnant of our nation and religion, there did or could compel his consent to the cessation." He then begins at March 23d, 1641, and by a historical series of private statements down to the end of the treaty of the cessation, he makes

good these facts, viz: that the parliament voted large supplies for the conduct of the war in Ireland; that the sums thus raised did not come to Ireland; that the Irish army was without clothes, shoes and food, in a condition of the lowest exhaustion, ill health and discontent, arising from continued and unmitigated hardships and privation, and only preserved in a languishing and wretched existence by occasional acts of robbery and piracy on the authority of government. Of this Perceval's various statements would occupy ten pages of this volume; we extract a few facts which lie within the least compass. He first mentions two large votes of £10,000 and £5000, one of which ended in a miserable remittance of £500 and the second of £200. He mentions also that the Dublin merchants were stripped of their property by the consent of the parliamentary committee, who he observes, "knew the extremity which had obliged *the state* with their privity to seize by force the goods of merchants, without paying for them." It is also made plain from several statements of the relief actually sent, that the larger proportion was supplied by Sir P. Perceval and other officers engaged in the commissariat department themselves, by incurring large debts on the faith of parliamentary promises never redeemed. On the condition of the army he mentions, that the "state" had for the six months previous to the cessation, frequently represented to the parliament of England through its committee, the "frequent mutinies of the army for want of pay, the impossibility of keeping up discipline; that divers captains being commanded to march with their soldiers, declared their disability to march, and that their soldiers would not move without money, shoes and stockings, for want of which many had marched barefooted, had bled much on the road, had been forced to be carried in cars; and others through unwholesome food, having no money to buy better, had become diseased, and died; yet no competent supplies came, and very few answers were returned."*

On the condition of the rebel armies he mentions, "the Irish all this while subsisted very well, carrying their cattle (especially their milch cows) with their armies for their relief into the field, and there at harvest cutting down the corn, burning (as their manner is), grinding, baking, and eating it in one day."

He also mentions that the confederates had three armies on foot, "well furnished with every thing" even in Leinster, while at the same time, the want in Dublin was so great, "that upon several searches made in Dublin, and the suburbs thereof, from house to house, by warrants from the state, as well by the church-wardens as by particular persons intrusted for that purpose, there could not be found fourteen days' provision for the inhabitants and the soldiers; a circumstance of great weight, considering that both the parliament ships, and the Irish privateers interrupted all commerce and importation to that port and these quarters."

Concerning the efforts made by the marquess of Ormonde and other loyalists, to remedy this grievous state of things he states, "that the marquess of Ormonde would have prosecuted the war, if £10,000, half in money and half in victual, could have been raised to have fur-

* Sir P. Perceval's Statement: Carte.

nished the officers and soldiers, and enabled them to march; and his lordship, the lords-justices, and most (if not all) of the council had entered into various bonds, some jointly, some severally, for provisions spent by the army, whilst any could be had on their security; and he heard the said marquess at several times offer in public to divers merchants and others that had formerly furnished the army, to engage himself for provisions to subsist it, as far as his engagement would be taken, or as his estate would bear, if provisions could be had thereupon, but little or nothing could be procured on any of their securities before the treaty of cessation began. The state likewise had been necessitated to seize by force goods of considerable value on ship board after they were put on board by license, all duties and customs paid, and the ships ready to sail, and to take many other hard ways to gain relief for the subsistence of the army."

We have selected a few from a multitude of parallel statements, which together represent all the effects of a continued state of civil war, kept up without any efficient means to give a decided turn to the aims of either party, but operating by a slow process of waste and exhaustion to the ruin of the kingdom. On the side of the rebels an armed mob, only qualified for plunder and living on plunder; on the side of government, a starved, unarmed and unpaid army, barely kept alive in a state of utter incapacity for any effort, by the most ruinous and unwarrantable stretches of power. And it is no less evident that this condition of affairs in Ireland was neither more nor less than according to the well concerted policy of the leaders of the parliamentary confederacy in England, who saw the efficiency of the Irish rebellion for their main designs, to depress the king and to work out a rebellion in England. It exhausted the resources both of the king and of his party, and brought large supplies into the funds of his enemies, who contrived to raise exorbitant sums from both countries on the strength of their assumed authority to conduct the Irish war. From Ireland alone they contrived to draw nearly £300,000 by forfeitures, during the time that the Irish armies were in a state of destitution clamouring for their pay; and while they sent £500 to Ireland, they were enabled to send £100,000 to the Scots to engage them to send an army into England, and £60,000 to the Scottish army in Ulster, whose inactivity plainly makes it appear for what purpose they were maintained.*

After the cessation, the king, who began more and more to perceive the full aim of his enemies, was anxious to strengthen himself against them. He sent over to the marquess of Ormonde, desiring such assistance as could be spared. And the question was raised in the king's council as to the expediency of the marquess himself coming over to take the command. But his presence in Ireland was felt indispensable; there he was the main spring of the royal cause, and the only earthly safeguard of the peaceful of any party: as moderate and equitable as he was effective and firm, he was looked to with respect and confidence even by his enemies. The cessation was but a suspension of hostilities between armed soldiers, who watched for advantages and

* Carte.

were ready to fight for their quarters. It was also considered how much it might be injurious to the king, by affording matter for reproach to his enemies, if the absence of the marquess should occasion any calamitous result to those whom his presence alone protected. A small body of Irish troops was accordingly sent over under different leaders, and it was resolved by the king to nominate the marquess to the entire management of the perplexed affairs of Ireland, with the appointment of lord-lieutenant.

In this appointment there was nothing desirable to the marquess; it was the adoption of a lost cause, glory and gain were no longer to be thought of; but on the other hand certain loss, fatigue, reproach, perplexity, and, without the intervention of singular good fortune, ultimate ruin. The marquess met the occasion with the heroism of his noble spirit, and expressed his devoted willingness to the undertaking. There was a difficulty in the appointment, as the earl of Leicester was actually lord-lieutenant, and it was judged fit to have his resignation. He was applied to and gave a reluctant consent, and sent his commission to the king, who had the marquess' commission drawn up in the same form, and with the same powers; he was after many delays sworn lord-lieutenant, 21st January, 1644.

During this year the chief object of the king's friends was the levy of forces to assist him against his parliamentary enemies in England. Of the main circumstances the reader may find a sufficient account in our notice of the earl of Antrim, who was now the second time engaged to use his influence for the purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a small force for his majesty. Among the incidents connected with these armaments, we shall here only stop to mention one characteristic incident. One of the ships which the marquess of Ormonde had hired for the transport of 150 men under Sir Anthony Willoughby, was taken at sea by captain Swanly a parliamentary officer, who ordered 70 of the soldiers to be thrown into the sea, under the pretence that they were Irish.* The parliamentary ships which were not to be had while they pretended to support the king, were now in full force, employed in blockading the harbour of Dublin, and in intercepting all communication between the king and his party in that country.

During the cessation it was the main object of the marquess to preserve its continuance; his chief difficulty arose from the fears of the rebel confederacy, that their party might become weakened by the division consequent upon the advantageous offers or overtures of the government. This year was spent in negotiations, in which to those who look back with a full knowledge of after events it is likely to appear that every party committed grievous and fatal mistakes. The popular party insisted upon such terms from the king, as were not consistent with the interests of the protestant inhabitants of Ireland; they were rejected with a decision not compatible with the position of the king's affairs at the time. The marquess was desirous to be released from his embarrassing post, from the consideration that the compliances which might become essential under the circumstances were such as it would not be consistent with his honour to advise: as

* Carte.

he had not only numerous relations and friends among the Irish party, but as his large estates were entirely in their hands, his conduct could not fail to be attributed to motives of an interested nature. It is also evident that he saw the growing failure of the royal cause, and the vast weight of censure which was likely to be directed against the authors of the required concessions, which would seem to have amounted to the entire surrender of the protestant, and consequently of the English interest. Such a step he could not justifiably have advised under any circumstances; and he was quite aware of the wretched and paltry tissue of intrigues which were then beginning to be resorted to, for the purpose of conciliating the Confederacy either by a base deception or a sacrifice as unworthy. The marquess has been censured by some very latitudinarian writers for this reluctance; and views have been imputed which could not possibly have occurred to the marquess, whom no turn of affairs could reimburse for the sacrifices of property he had made through the entire rebellion. But such writers, judging simply from their party views, have in fact been incapable of appreciating the main principles of the marquess' conduct, a determination to support the king and not to compromise the protestants; a compromise which was then anxiously weighed in the scale of party, and not to be made without that of honour, conscience and of all the permanent interests of Ireland. It was during these negotiations that the wretched and contemptible farce of Glamorgan's treaty, so mortifying to the marquess and ultimately so prejudicial to the king took place. We shall mention it here as briefly as we can.

In the desperation of his affairs the unfortunate Charles was driven to the necessity of endeavouring to make peace on any terms with the confederates. They, speculating on his necessities, and urged on by the violent temper and extreme views of the nuncio Rinuncini, (already explained in this volume,) raised their demands to a height which appeared altogether inconsistent with the civil interests of the nation. To the concessions thus demanded it was impossible that the marquess could be a party, and the king found it necessary to employ a more pliant agent for the execution of a desperate and unprincipled design. The earl of Glamorgan was sent over to treat with the confederates, publicly on terms fitted for the public ear, and privately on terms more adapted to their own desires and demands. The private treaty was concluded; but Rinuncini, who felt little respect for the opinion of the protestant public, and overrated the real power of the rebels, was importunate for the publication of the treaty; in this desire he was joined by his own party, and the report of such a treaty having been concluded between the king and the rebels soon got abroad, and did infinite mischief to the royal cause in England. The rumour was confirmed by an accident; Sir C. Coote, the younger, having routed the titular archbishop of Tuam before the walls of Sligo, found a copy of the treaty in his baggage and transmitted it to the English parliament, which rejoicing in a document so likely to cast disgrace on the king, published and circulated it through the kingdom.

The king was thus placed in a position of extreme embarrassment, and compelled to soften the matter by an explanation which no one received as accurately true, and which involved the admission that de-

ception had been intended in some part of the transaction; as he denied having given a power to Glamorgan to conclude the treaty, while he admitted that having sent over the earl for the purpose of raising forces, he thought it necessary to fortify him with such authority as might obtain him credit among the Irish. He wrote an apology to the marquess of Ormonde, assuring him that "he never intended Glamorgan should treat of any thing without his approbation, much less his knowledge," a letter which, it should be observed, exonerates the marquess from all privity to such a transaction. The earl of Glamorgan was accused of high treason, arrested and imprisoned for exceeding his orders, and a scene of shuffling followed which is not worth detailing here, but which shows the nature of the whole proceeding to be precisely that which we have described it, a scene of unworthy collusion from beginning to end. The earl of Glamorgan made such declarations as were adapted to save the credit of the king, who consoled his imprisonment with private letters of friendly approbation, and stood between him and all consequences; the marquess though offended by the whole conduct of both parties, yet when the mischief was done endeavoured to lessen the pernicious consequences, by favouring the efforts of the king to secure his weak minister from further exposure.

The parliamentary party from this began to gain ground in both countries. The confederates became divided, and the army hitherto in the main obedient to the king's officers, began to be tampered with by parliamentary agents and to be divided into factions. The solemn league and covenant was taken by Monroe and his troops, as well as by several bodies of the English forces in Ulster. And Monroe began to make more determined and earnest efforts to possess himself of the principal garrisons of Ulster. A long and intermitting negotiation of which the details are monotonous and of no historical importance, continued to be carried on between the king and the Irish confederates. As the difficulties of the royal cause increased, the confederates raised their demands, and the king showed signs of a disposition to give way, but was mainly impeded by the firmness of the marquess, who although he had freely sacrificed his fortune and faced all dangers and labours in the royal cause, never once made the slightest compromise of principle. Under these painful conditions he struggled on during a distressing and laborious period of three years, without means, or any steady or efficient aid from others, pressed by a hundred daily necessities and cruel embarrassments, zealous to save the king, rescue his own property, and restore peace, but resolute in rejecting the compromise which these interests appeared to demand:* and displaying with a striking reality not often met in the page of history, the example of a great and good man struggling with adversity.

In this desperate condition of the protestant party, the nuncio Rinuncini, who had confined those members of the confederate assembly who had consented to the peace, called an assembly in Kilkenny of persons more favourable to his own views, — and while Owen O'Neale held the

* On the justice and wisdom of the concessions demanded, there may be room for difference of opinion. We only insist upon motives.

greater part of Leinster with an army of 8000 men, introduced the question of the proposed peace, together with the conditions on which it might be concluded. The greater part of the members were nominated by the clergy, and were completely at their disposal. Soon after they met, a paper was presented from a synod of the clergy at the same time convened by Rinuncini, containing the outline of their project for the settlement of the country. They proposed the establishment of the papal church through every part of the country, with the entire and absolute possession of all churches, benefices, and ecclesiastical offices and dignities; the repeal of every statute by which any ecclesiastical right was vested in the crown, &c., &c., amounting to the full and entire jurisdiction of all ecclesiastical concerns in Ireland. The nuncio proposed in addition, that the monasteries should be restored their lands, a proposal which the assembly rejected, as most of the members were themselves largely possessed of such lands. With a few slight modifications these proposals were passed into a vote by the clergy. The commissioners who had assented to the late peace, were severely handled, and an attempt was made to pass a vote of censure upon them; this question prolonged the debate, but the peace was itself condemned and rejected by an overwhelming majority.*

These incidents are here selected from the events of two years, in which amongst the confusion of numerous parties and the absence of all preponderating control, no progress of historical interest can be traced, further than the desolating effect consequent upon a state of disorganization so long protracted. Their present importance to the subject of this narration is however not inconsiderable. The treaty of the marquess of Ormonde by which he delivered up the country to the parliament, has been noticed by a writer of opposite politics, as affording proof of the insincerity of his loyalty and the selfishness of the entire of his policy. The charge is indeed too absurd to be formally combated. If ever an instance could be found of the entire abandonment of all self-interest, it would be the marquess; but in this special case, the accusation has altogether proceeded from the singular oversight of not considering the whole principles of the conduct of the marquess, but in their place imputing to him the views of the writer himself, who seems to have imagined that the proposed establishment of a papal ascendancy in Ireland must have been as indifferent to the leader of the protestant party in Ireland as it appeared to the historian, who was either a Roman catholic himself, or as is more probable, indifferent to all creeds. Much historical injustice would be avoided by the adoption of an obvious but constantly neglected rule; that of weighing the motives of eminent public men according to the principles of their own party and profession. So long as the act is consistent with the uniform and professed principle, it is unfair, and a fallacy to ascribe other motives different from those professed; these may, it is granted, be *in themselves* unjustifiable, but this is not the question here. The marquess had indeed no choice, and acted from an absolute necessity; but waiving this consideration it would be sufficient to reply to the dis-

* These particulars are stated in great detail by Carte upon the authority of the nuncio's memoirs.

ingenuous insinuations of the historians of the popular party, that he acted in precise and rigid conformity with the conduct of his entire political life. Loyal to the king, he was more loyal to the protestant party in Ireland, and when their affairs became desperate by the want of all protection, and the complete ascendancy of the nuncio's party; when the peace was rejected and a war of extermination declared, on the very principle of exacting the entire demolition of all the stays and defences of his own church; the marquess knew his duty, and chose his part. The one *last* hope for Ireland, (according to the views of the marquess,) lay in the timely interposition of the parliament of England. It did not require all the sagacity of the marquess to perceive that any other earthly prospect for his party of deliverance from entire and rapid ruin was but nominal. The king could do nothing to save himself—the protestant power in Ireland had dilapidated in a wasting war of six long years; and all who were not engaged in the business of murder and plunder were the helpless victims of the folly, cupidity and fanaticism of those who were. The nuncio and his party possessed the kingdom, they not only rejected the peace but made a most unwarrantable use of a treaty to attempt the seizure of the marquess himself, and were actually engaged in discussing the terms on which the kingdom was to be delivered into the hands of the pope. Connected with this consideration is a very strong argument stated by the marquess himself, in a memorial presented shortly after to the king at Hampton court; in this document, of which the great length prevents us from inserting it entire, the marquess says “a third reason was, upon consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared in some clearness to us, that if the places we held for your majestie were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majestie, when either by treaty or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England; and that in all probability without expense of treasure or blood. But if they were given, or lost to the confederates, it was to us very evident, that they would never be recovered to us by treaty, your majestie's known pious resolution, and their exorbitant expectations in point of religion considered; nor by conquest, but after a long and changeable war, wherein, how far they might be assisted by any foreign prince that would believe his affairs advanced or secured, by keeping your majestie busied at home, fell likewise into consideration.” The marquess convened the protestant party and proposed to them, that he should act in conformity with the directions given by the king, in contemplation of such an occasion, “that if it were possible for the marquess to keep Dublin, and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his majesty; but if there were or should be a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish.”* Such was now under the circumstances here mentioned, the decision of the marquess; it was approved by his entire party and received the full sanction of the parliament of Ireland, called together soon after. Their declaration is indeed too express and solemn to be omitted here; it is as follows:—

* Borlase. Cox.



"We the lords and commons assembled in parliament in our whole body do present ourselves before your lordship, acknowledging with great sense and feeling your lordship's singular goodness to us the protestant party, and those who have faithfully and constantly adhered unto them, who have been preserved to this day (under God) by your excellency's providence and pious care, which hath not been done without a vast expense out of your own estate, as also the hazarding of your person in great and dangerous difficulties. And when your lordship found yourself (with the strength remaining with you) to be too weak to resist an insolent, (and upon all advantages) a perfidious and bloody enemy, rather than we should perish, you have in your care transferred us to their hands that are both able and willing to preserve us; and that, not by a bare casting us off, but complying so far with us, that you have not denied our desires of hostages, and amongst them one of your most dear sons. All which being such a free earnest of your excellency's love to our religion, nation, and both our houses, do incite us here to come unto you, with hearts filled with your love, and tongues declaring how much we are obliged unto your excellency, professing our resolutions are with all real service (to the utmost of our power) to manifest the sincerity of this our acknowledgment and affections to you; and to perpetuate to posterity the memory of your excellency's merits, and our thankfulness, we have appointed this instrument to be entered in both houses, and under the hands of both speakers to be presented to your lordship.

Rⁱ BOLTON, *Chanc.*

MAURICE EUSTACE, *Speaker."*

17^o die Martii, 1646, Intrans per
VALL SAVAGE, *Dep. Cl. Parl.*

Int. 17^o Martii, 1646, per
PHILL FORNELEY, *Cl. Dom. Com.*

The answer of the marquess to this address is remarkable for its dignified simplicity, and will be read by every unprejudiced reader as the just exposition of his sentiments.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—What you have now read and delivered hath much surprised me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you than thus suddenly to be answered; yet I may not suffer you to depart hence without saying somewhat unto you; and first I assure you, that this acknowledgment of yours is unto me a jewel of very great value, which I shall lay up amongst my choicest treasures, it being not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have been cast upon my actions during the time that I have had the honour to serve his majesty here, but likewise an antidote against the virulency and poison of those tongues and pens, that I am well assured, will busily set on work to traduce and blast the integrity of my present proceedings for your preservation. And now, my lords and gentlemen, since this may perhaps be the last time that I shall have the honour to speak to you from this place; and since, that next to the words of a dying man (those of one ready to banish himself from his country for the good of it) challenge credit, give me leave before God and

you, here to protest, that in all the time I have had the honour to serve the king my master, I never received any commands from him but such as speak him a wise, pious, protestant prince; zealous of the religion he professeth, the welfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms; and I shall beseech you to look no otherwise upon me, than upon a ready instrument set on to work by the king's wisdom and goodness for your preservation; wherein if I have discharged myself to his approbation and yours, it will be the greatest satisfaction and comfort I shall take with me, wherever it shall please God to direct my steps; and now that I may dismiss you, I beseech God long, long to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted church and kingdom."

The inhabitants of Dublin were zealous for the conclusion of a treaty which was to place them under competent protection, and had, upon the first arrival of the commissioners in the former year, considerably embarrassed the marquess by their urgency. They were on this second treaty no less decided in the expression of their wishes. The marquess wrote therefore in the beginning of the year, (Feb. 6th, 1647,) to the parliamentary commissioners, offering to deliver up his command and garrisons to such persons as the parliament should appoint to receive them, upon the conditions which they had lately offered." The negotiation seems to have in some degree influenced the confederates at Kilkenny, who, to prevent it from being concluded, held out offers of an accommodation, but proposed terms utterly inconsistent with their ever being entertained by the marquess: they proposed a junction of force, retaining to themselves the full command of their own armies, independent of the lord-lieutenant: they insisted on full possession of the church and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the protestant quarters, together with possession of the towns and garrisons. These conditions were not however put into writing, and were rejected at once by the marquess. Soon after they made a second proposal, founded on the same basis, offering to assist the marquess against the parliament, but adding, that they should insist on the propositions lately voted in the assembly: this letter was only signed by four bishops, and four other members of the nuncio's party. The treaty with the parliament was, with some delays and difficulties unnecessary to mention, carried to its conclusion.

Having discharged his duty to Ireland, by a treaty of which the principal condition was, that the protestants were to be protected in their estates and persons, as well as all recusants who had not assisted the rebels: the next consideration was the discharge of his duty to the king: with this view the marquess added some further conditions, by which he was to be empowered to take with him such leaders as should be willing to follow his fortunes, with 5000 foot and 500 horse. This was agreed to by the commissioners, and also by the lords, but afterwards rejected by a vote of the commons. On this condition the marquess had offered to relinquish £10,000 of the sum laid out by him for the garrisons, and for which he had demanded a partial reimbursement. This latter demand of the marquess has also been seized as a

matter of scandal by the party historians; and of all the base and unconscionable sacrifices of truth and common sense for the purpose of historical misrepresentation we can recollect, it is the most impudent. It was but a few weeks before the conclusion of the treaty with the parliamentary commissioners, that the marquess, who had spent every penny he could obtain in the maintenance of the garrison, was compelled to borrow so small a sum as sixty pounds to relieve the garrison at Wicklow. When he had first proposed to treat with the parliament, at the time when O'Neile and Preston had marched to Lucan on their way to Dublin, with 14,000 men, he borrowed large sums, with a promise of payment before he should quit the government: this engagement was public, the accounts were audited by Sir James Ware, they were also examined by public commissioners, who certified that the sums disbursed amounted to £13,877 13s. 4d. The same council represented to the marquess, that he was entitled to demand the much larger sums which he had previously spent on the war, together with the pay and salary due to his appointments, of which he had never received any thing; and some compensation for the large arrears of rent due on his estate, so long in the hands of the rebels. The marquess however disclaimed all merely personal considerations, and only insisted on the sums necessary for the liquidation of the public debt.

The marquess was deceived by the promises of parliament; he was compelled to leave the marchioness in Dublin, to receive and pay a sum of £3000, which was to have been paid on the spot, and for which his creditors were most clamorous. The commissioners put him off with unaccepted bills, telling him that he should not be the sufferer by their not being accepted, and asking him to trust to the faith and honour of parliament. But a considerable sum of this money was never paid. The whole treaty was marked by the hard overreaching and peremptory temper of the parliamentary party, and brought to a conclusion on the 28th September, 1647, when the marquess embarked on board of a frigate, commanded by captain Matthew Wood, and landed in Bristol a few days after.

From this he went to the king, who was then a prisoner at Hampton court, and in a strong and clear memorial stated the entire history of the previous events which had decided his own conduct: a statement yet affording the most authentic history of the facts to which it refers, and confirmed by all authoritative statements of the opposite party which were given by contemporary writers. After remaining for some months in England, the activity of the marquess in his continued efforts to repair the fallen fortunes of the king, and to reorganize his broken and scattered party, made him the subject of considerable suspicion and watchfulness to the parliament leaders. His creditors were also beginning to be more urgent, and, it was evident that this circumstance could be used by his political enemies to put him into confinement in the most ready and unquestionable way. He soon received information that a warrant had been sent out for his arrest: on receiving this intelligence he crossed the country to Hastings, and sailed for France. Having landed at Dieppe, he proceeded to Paris, and there he waited upon queen Henrietta. Among other slight

occurrences at this time, it is mentioned that when he visited the countess of Glamorgan, to whom he had formerly been a suitor before his marriage with his cousin, she resenting his supposed interference to prevent the earl of Glamorgan from being made governor of Ireland, met him with an air of offended dignity, and when, according to the fashion of the time, the marquess approached to kiss her cheek, she turned haughtily away, on which he made a respectful bow and said calmly—"really madam, this would have troubled me eighteen years ago."

The more moderate of the confederates were alarmed by the departure of the marquess from Ireland: they now for the first time began to see the tremendous oversight they had committed in their opposition to the royal party, and in their perfidious and blind hostility to his lieutenant. Among the various motives by which they had been actuated, ambition, party feeling, and religious zeal, they had omitted to perceive that their interests were inextricably bound up in those of the king: that there was nothing between them and the irresistible power and the relentless will of the English parliament but the resistance which it had experienced or had reason to apprehend from the loyalists. These being subdued, and the parliamentary authority settled into some form of civil organization, it was to be apprehended upon no distant or difficult grounds, that a well-appointed and overpowering force would be directed to crush together the wretched hordes of marauders,—by the courtesy of history alone called armies,—which infested the country, and cowed each other. The first report of the treaty of the marquess communicated an electric sense of this to the better portion of the confederates, and many were the efforts made to detain him when it was too late. Sir R. Talbot, Beling, and Preston, endeavoured by an application through lord Digby, to prevail upon him to remain a little longer, but the time was then past. The mere report of the parliamentary troops being admitted into Dublin was enough to disperse the congregated banners of Preston and O'Neile at Lucan.

On the departure of the marquess the condition of anarchy to which the country was reduced continued to increase. The parliamentary leaders had not yet matured their plans at home, and had no leisure to turn their attention upon the affairs of Ireland: it seemed enough to occupy the government, and preserve matters from taking any turn hostile to their interests. The small means which they applied for this purpose were sufficient; without allaying the desperate confusion of the country, they infused additional division, and by various successes weakened the authority of some, and gained the alliance of others. Under these circumstances, we do not feel it necessary to go into any detail of the events which occurred in the short interval of this first absence of the marquess: the main particulars belong to other memoirs in which they have already met sufficient notice. Jones held Dublin for the parliament: his coarse and stern manners offended the citizens, who compared his reserve with the accessible and universal courtesy of the marquess, of whom it was commonly remarked, that it was more easy for the humblest citizen to reach him in his closet, than to approach Jones in the public street. O'Neile terrified all

parties in turn, and was ready to unite his arms with the highest bidder. The earl of Inchiquin, only zealous for the restoration of peace, at first adopted the obvious and probable means for this end by joining the parliamentary party; and in this, the motives by which he was actuated were identical with those of the marquess of Ormonde, who would not lower himself so far as to join the avowed enemies of the king; Preston was for peace, and considered the intervention of the marquess as the only expedient consistent with the safety of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry.

Among these parties, all moving independently of each other, and monthly changing their purposes and parties, a few more influential changes may be enumerated. Lord Inchiquin, disappointed by the slackness of the parliament in the conduct of the war, specially irritated by their breach of engagements with himself, and perhaps, (in common with many) mistaking the increasing weakness of the confederacy for the revival of the king's party, deserted them and returned to this party: while Owen O'Neile joined the parliamentary governor, and Monroe, still trying to preserve an independent posture, and leaving his intentions doubtful, was seized, and sent prisoner to London.

The desire for peace was at the same time universal to all who entertained no special expectation dependent upon the continuance of war. The confederates, with the exception of those who were immediately connected with the nuncio, were anxious to renew a treaty which all viewed as dependent upon the return of the marquess. His return was eagerly pressed by the earl of Inchiquin, who still continued to preserve his own force unbroken, and had, by the exertion of great address and courage, brought over his officers to the adoption of the same party with himself. A council, favourable to the same views, was held in Kilkenny, but menaced with a siege by O'Neile. O'Neile was compelled to retire by the combined forces of Inchiquin and Preston, of whom the first in vain tried to force him to a battle. An assembly was convened, and received with satisfaction the intelligence conveyed by Muskerrey and Browne, that the marquess of Ormonde would soon follow them from France. The same assembly declared O'Neile a traitor, and renewed their appeal to Rome against the excommunication of Rinuncini.

The language of this paper strongly shows the unpopularity of the nuncio, as it declares, "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had continually been for three years past, acting within the kingdom to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome," &c.*

The marquess having been strongly urged by the confederate leaders, and also by the king, queen, and prince, once more to hazard himself for the only chance which then remained for the king's life and restoration; began by a vain endeavour to obtain from the French court such means as he was informed by Inchiquin would be necessary for the purpose of putting his troops in motion; but after great exertions, he could only bring together a sum equal to about £6000. He obtained

* Carte, II. pp. 43.

a power from the queen and prince to conclude a peace, and a letter from the king, declaring himself a prisoner, and desiring the marquess to disregard any public commands from himself, until he should let him know that he was free from restraint.

Before the marquess set out on a journey so fraught with troubles and dangers, he turned out of his way to Caen to visit the marchioness, who was then settled there with his children. Taking leave of these, he pursued his way to Havre, from whence he was to embark; but on the way his life was exposed to great and imminent danger. Having reached the ferry opposite Havre, he agreed for his passage with the master of a small half-decker, laden with cyder. It was dark when with his servant he embarked, and they had made but little way when the wind became rough and adverse, and they were in consequence all night on the water. Towards morning, the captain applied to the marquess to learn the hour;—his watch was fast, or his impatience at the delay, caused him to tell the captain an hour too late: the captain thus misled, missed his reckoning, and ran upon the flats; the vessel was split, and the marquess with some difficulty escaped in the cock-boat. He was compelled to delay at Havre for a long time to await his despatches from St Germain, which put him to a ruinous expense, and this was aggravated by another incident. The prince of Orange had sent a forty-six gun vessel to convey him to Ireland, but the captain refused to take on board the cannon and other military stores which he had purchased to a large amount, so that he was under the necessity of hiring another vessel for his stores and train of attendants. When he landed in Cork he had only thirty pistoles remaining of the sum he had received in France.

The marquess landed at Cork, 29th September 1648, and on the 6th October published a declaration of which it is necessary to extract a few lines as it both attests the consistency of the marquess, and accounts for the dislike of a section of the confederacy whose hesitation to treat with the marquess has been attributed by adverse writers to reasons less creditable to this nobleman. In his declaration the marquess mentions, that "he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty's rights, and observes that the protestant army in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king's person and rights, and disclaimed all obedience to the enemies of both, was esteemed by the king as an eminent and seasonable expression of their loyalty. In testimony of such his sentiments, his majesty had commanded him to repair to that province to discharge the duty of his place: that he had resolved publicly to evince not only his approbation of that army's proceedings, but his own resolution in the same particulars: that he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion—for defending the king in his prerogative—for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament—and the liberty of his subjects. He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppose all rebels who shall refuse obedience to his majesty, on the terms he shall require it, and endeavour the suppression of the independents. That to prevent all distrust from former differences, he declares himself fully authorized to assure them that no distinction shall be made on any such account, but that all who engaged in the cause should be treated with

equal regard and favour: that the past should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance."

The events of the treaty which followed are to be briefly noticed, as though concluded by the marquess it was utterly without result. The ecclesiastical party earnestly protested against any thing being concluded before the return of their emissaries from Rome. The other party went with zeal into the negotiation, and invited the marquess to his own castle of Kilkenny, in order that the proceedings might be conducted with less interruption. The marquess assented, and was received with every public demonstration of respect and zeal. He was however for a time called away by a mutiny in the army of the earl of Inchiquin, which was discontented by want of pay, and had besides a great leaning to the parliamentary party. The mutiny was suppressed with considerable exertion—the soldiers were appeased—some of the officers were imprisoned—others cashiered—and the rest submitted. Reports arrived that a fleet from the prince was soon to arrive with money and provisions, and the prince himself with the duke of York, immediately to follow; and the army was thus encouraged and appeased. The marquess returned and found matters still more ripe for a treaty, which the condition of the king now made an affair of desperate necessity. While the marquess was endeavouring to abate the violence of his opponents, and to bring down their extravagant demands, intelligence arrived which had the effect of a thunder-stroke upon the mind of every party in that negotiation. A copy of the remonstrance of the English army, demanding the trial of the king, was sent by the earl of Inchiquin to the marquess. At this dreadful intelligence the marquess gave up all consideration of every object beyond the meeting of that fearful emergency, (for such it then appeared) and only looked to saving the king by the union of Ireland in his favour, at any price. The treaty was therefore soon concluded to the entire satisfaction of the more moderate of the Roman catholic party, on the basis of the articles of 1646. These terms were indeed far from such as the marquess would have even listened to a few months before; but he now acted with the strong hope of producing a salutary reaction in favour of the king, and averting the ruin which seemed to menace both kingdoms. The marquess has been blamed for these concessions; but to his apprehension it was a choice of evils, and he chose the less, so far as human reason could go; for we have no right to assume them as interpositions of Providence.

The execution of king Charles in the beginning of 1649, gave a shock to the marquess, which as he afterwards remarked, made all the troubles of his after life sit lighter upon him. The account was received with a general expression of sorrow and indignation. The marquess immediately ordered the proclamation of Charles II., and its reception was so generally favourable, that the nuncio, concluding that there would be a universal submission to the authority of the lord-lieutenant, was confirmed in the resolution which he had latterly formed, to leave the kingdom. He wrote his parting directions to Owen O'Neill and to such of the hierarchy of his communion as still

adhered to himself, to exert their most strenuous efforts to keep up the war. Owen was now the only person among the Irish who held out; but many circumstances had caused a falling off in his force, and the marquess employed Daniel O'Neile to treat with him. The commissioners of trust also sent their agents for the same purpose, but the terms which they offered were such as to lead O'Neile to suspect that they underrated his value, and he resolved to let them see their error, and entered upon a treaty with the independents.

The king was at the Hague, when the account reached him of his father's death; he immediately confirmed the appointment of the marquess. The marquess was involved meanwhile, in many added perplexities. The commissioners of trust, who held *pro tempore* the power of levying assessments for the expense of the war, were more sedulous to fill their own coffers, than to execute their trusts. The marquess, pressed by a host of emergencies, could only command the ordinary revenue, which was insufficient for preparations which would be necessary for taking the field in the following spring. He wrote to the king strongly urging him to come over, as his presence would unite all parties, and supersede all authorities which at present embarrassed the course of his interests. The king had at the same time received invitations from Scotland. The Scottish commissioners proposed terms which could not be accepted, and were referred to his arrival in Ireland for an answer; the States entered warmly into the wishes of the Scots and pressed him in their favour. It was thought desirable to obstruct his journey to Ireland, and with this view it was suggested that the States would, if applied to, advance a sum of money for the purpose. Charles applied by a memorial, and was thus diverted into procrastination of his journey, till the time when it might be of avail was spent in awaiting the fulfilment of a promise which from the beginning was but a snare. At last, when reduced to the greatest embarrassment for want of the ordinary means of supporting his household, Charles left Holland and went to France.

The marquess was in the meantime left to the ruinous means to which he was ordinarily compelled to resort, for the purpose of raising and maintaining a force which at best was wholly inadequate to the demand of the time. By loans where he could borrow, and by freely involving himself in debts, which afterwards became the burden of many years, and which no private estate could wipe away, he made such preparations as he could, to lay siege to Dublin. On this undertaking the event of the struggle was now thought to depend; the loyalists in England stood in suspense, waiting for the result of an enterprise which was expected to be the signal for a fresh insurrection in England. The difficulties of the marquess were aggravated by the general scarcity; every kind of provision was exhausted, and the spring was more backward than usual. So late as May, he was only enabled to collect 2000 foot and 200 horse; these he sent with the earl of Castlehaven to take such places as O'Neile held in Leinster, which it would not be safe to leave in the occupation of an enemy in the rear of his march against Dublin. During this expedition it is stated that the soldiers were sometimes two or three days without food, and daily on the point of breaking up; this the marquess barely con-

trived to prevent by sending off small sums as fast as he could borrow them. In the meanwhile he was drawing together such troops as he could at Leighlin bridge; in the utmost uneasiness at being compelled to let pass an occasion so favourable for the execution of a decisive blow: Dublin, at that moment was itself reduced to a state of great extremity, and would have offered little effectual resistance, could he but advance before Jones should be further reinforced and the town supplied. The marquess in vain represented to prince Rupert that there was at the time "not ten days' provisions of bread in the place, so that if the harbour were but blocked up, the forces within it must fall to nothing immediately."* Jones had himself been neglected by his masters, who were yet kept in a state of internal ferment by the pressure throughout England of a strong re-action of popular feeling, and still more by the contest for pre-eminence which had arisen among themselves. The importance of Ireland, however, appeared so considerable, that it could not under any circumstances be neglected; the hopes of the royal party had turned thither, and though the time had not arrived for a decisive blow, it was yet indispensable to occupy a precautionary position. So that before the marquess could sit down with any reasonable hope of success before the walls, the parliamentary commander was enabled to bid him defiance, and to look without apprehension upon his approach at the head of a scanty, discontented, and divided force; which he had by the first of June contrived to raise to 6000 foot and 2000 horse. To enable him to advance a step with these, he had to borrow £800 and to take up a supply of meal on credit; he thus advanced and took Kildare, Talbotstown and Castle Talbot, but at this latter place, he was again checked by the exhaustion of these supplies, and compelled to remain on the west of the Liffey, while Jones drew out as far as Johnstown to meet him.

Jones had been relieved with needful supplies of corn and money, and in a letter to Cromwell dated on the 6th of the same month, describes himself as successfully engaged in fomenting differences between Owen O'Neile and the marquess, and also as having opened an intercourse with Preston for the same purpose. This was, it appears, facilitated by some discontent of Preston's who had about two months previous, received from the marquess a refusal to his application to be made master-general of the ordnance, on the death of Sir T. Lucas, who held the office. The marquess, who found it very difficult to satisfy the disorderly ambition of those who had joined him from the confederate party, gave this post to lord Taaffe, who had merited it by continued and efficient service.

It is mentioned rather doubtfully, but on grounds probable enough, that a conspiracy against the life of the marquess was at this time suspected. A report seems to have prevailed in England, that several ruffians were hired to assassinate him; this is mentioned directly in a letter from Sir E. Nicholas to the marquess himself. And a passage from one of the letters between Jones and a person of the name of Rochfort, who seems to have been his correspondent in the quarters of the marquess, appears to hint at something of the kind. "None,"

* Carte.

says he, "have been made privy to our proceedings but general Preston, his son colonel Warren, and a few other leading men so far embarked in the work, as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather by Ormonde's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not, (as we suppose by reason of the caution thence given him,) commit his person to us, without his guards of horse and foot; by which advertisement we missed of our last opportunity."

Such was the state of affairs, when about 14th June, a considerable reinforcement, with a supply of money amounting to £3000 collected by lord Taaffe, enabled the marquess to march to Dublin. The garrison in that city however had become stronger than his army, and was in excellent condition, so that he could not with prudence risk his strength in any decided operation, and was barely enabled to hold his position and watch for the turn of affairs, while through his officers he obtained possession of Drogheda, Dundalk, and other principal places. His hopes were, indeed, so far lowered, that instead of pressing for the arrival of the king as heretofore, he now advised his awaiting the event of the siege of Dublin, which (judging from the general tone of his letters,) he must have considered as nearly desperate at the time. The events of this interval we can only sum with the utmost brevity, and have already in various memoirs mentioned the principal of them. It was generally known that Cromwell was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, an event of which the marquess was far from appreciating the whole importance, as he observed in his letter to the king, that he feared his money more than his troops; little considering that in truth it was only comparatively speaking—that any force then on the field in Ireland, could be entitled to be considered as an army; and that any sum of money, in the then existing state of the country, could only enable him to bring a larger mob to the field.

After many inoperative movements, chiefly made with a view to form a blockade of the city, about the 3d of July it was deemed advisable to complete its investment. Lord Dillon of Costilogh was left with 2000 men and 500 horse on the north of the city, while the marquess crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines: while this movement was in progress, a squadron arrived from England in the bay, carrying a reinforcement to the garrison of 2000 men, commanded by colonel Venables, with a large supply of money, and all necessaries. On this, the marquess with the advice of his council, came to a resolution to draw away their troops and retire to Drogheda, and the other principal places in the possession of his majesty's officers. The resolution was ill received by the officers and soldiers, and it was generally affirmed through the troops, that the taking of Dublin would be a matter of little difficulty, if they could first deprive the garrison of the small plot of meadow, which was the sole means of support for their horses; and this it was thought might be effected by seizing possession of a castle in the vicinity which could easily be fortified so as to resist any attack likely to be made upon it from the town. The marquess sent Preston, Purcel, and others of his general officers, to inspect the place, and on their report gave orders for its fortification, which was committed to major general Purcel with 1500

men. This party received orders to move at nightfall to the work, and when it became dark enough to conceal their operations, they set out on their way, but were misled by their guides, who were subsequently alleged to have betrayed them,* and did not arrive at the spot till an hour before day. The marquess sat up all night in the anticipation of some attempt from the town, and engaged himself in writing his despatches. At daybreak he mounted his horse and rode to the castle of Baginbally, which he did not think so strong as the report of his officers led him to expect, and was surprised to find the work scarcely begun, which by his directions was to have been completed at that hour; he also perceived several strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their own works, obviously aiming at concealment. It then became a matter of consideration, whether he should discontinue the work, but he decided upon advancing to support the working parties. He gave orders for this, at the same time assuring his officers that an attack from the town might be expected, as he thought Jones would incur any risk to prevent their possession of the castle. Having given the most express directions, and told each general the precise position he was to take, the marquess having been up all the night, returned to obtain an hour's sleep before the exertions of the day. He had not slept an hour, when he was started from his sleep by the discharge of musquetry. Arming himself quickly, he galloped out in the direction of the firing; he did not go far when he met the working party, which was the right wing of his army, coming towards him in foul disorder. Jones had marched out upon them, and they were soon broken, Sir W. Vaughan to whom the marquess had given the command in the morning, (in his displeasure against Purcell) being killed fighting at the head of his men. A considerable number of them scattered on towards their homes in the Wicklow mountains, to which Carte observes they knew the way "too well."

The centre consisted of lord Inchiquin's infantry, commanded by colonel Giffard, with whose assistance the marquess drew them up in good order: to guard their flank he posted two regiments under colonel O'Reilly and another in an adjoining field, desiring that they should not stir until his return—he had not gone far when they were attacked, O'Reilly slain and the men routed. The troops of Jones had come out in separate parties, and been led on rather by the incidents of the attack than according to any settled plan. Of these a large body of horse had got round into the rear of the marquess's centre, and were making their way through a lane by the flank of Giffard's foot, to join a strong body of infantry which was at the same time advancing in front. The marquess commanded a discharge of musquetry, which threw them into such disorder, that their disorganization would have been complete if the flanking parties had kept their ground; but the English horse rallied and joined their party in front; and at the same time, another large body both of horse and foot, which had followed the same direction, appeared on the same fields, and drew up

* The fact was afterwards confessed in 1653.—See Carte, II. p. 79, for the particulars.

† Borlase.

in the rear of Gifford's men. The Irish became so much discouraged that it was impossible to lead them to the charge, and they showed such decided signs of breaking that the marquess saw his last resource was in the conduct of the left wing; leaping a ditch, he made his way with much difficulty, and found them also wavering, and checked by a strong body of English, so that he could not move them (as he had designed) to the relief of the centre. They were in a state bordering on flight, and the marquess saw that nothing but a decided impulse forward could prevent this result; he therefore rushed in among their ranks and with most of the officers, made every possible exertion to rally their departed courage and lead them to the charge; but they were past recovery, and the urgency of the marquess only terrified them the more, so that when he, in order to give the necessary impulse, galloped forward waving his sword toward the enemy,—as if by common consent, they turned about and commenced their flight without any pursuer. The marquess turned, and galloping among the fugitives contrived to stop some hundreds, but it was like the attempt to put a dead man on his feet, they only followed the marquess till they obtained a sight of the enemy, and turned back in a tumult of terror. The marquess did not give up till after repeated efforts of the same kind and with similar success, convinced him of the mortifying truth, that his army had no substance, and that the hope of the day was gone. He then sent a dispatch to lord Dillon, on the other side of the Liffey, giving notice of the event, and ordering the forces off to the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, against the chance of their being (as he expected) soon attacked by Jones. The marquess was struck by a musket shot, but saved from material injury by his armour. This battle presents a singular accumulation of mischances and errors, so that on a superficial view it seems difficult to conceive the presence of any presiding discretion, in the disposition or appreciation of the means of resistance or offence. The army of the marquess assailed without method or previous design, seems to have melted off like a mist before wandering bodies of soldiers, who seem themselves to have been going astray, and who cannot be strictly said to have attacked them. The whole difficulty is greatly diminished by looking at the primary fact, that the marquess had from the commencement no intention to hazard a battle, and from a consciousness of the inadequacy of his force had determined to abandon the siege. The plan which he had actually adopted, was within the reach of an easy effort, and would have given him a considerable advantage, amounting nearly to a blockade of the city. When this, for which he adopted the ordinary means, was frustrated by the treachery of the guides, (for this seems proved,) the consequences followed; and he had not the means to evade them. The discomfiture of his army was not to be attributed to any defect of command or disposition; it was wholly panic, and the absence of any military fitness in the composition of his troops: they were a mere mob; like all mere mobs, eager to fight; and wanting the requisite discipline, still more eager to run away.

The effect of this disaster at Rathmines caused a great and universal depression. The loss of the ordnance and arms was a fatal stroke that could not be repaired. "Men," as Carte observes, "were much

easier to be supplied, than money to pay, or means to support them. The cities refused to lend money, and the sums which had been assessed by the commissioners of trust not having been paid, were also now withheld. Under these circumstances, it was a last resource to come to an agreement with O'Neile; this was easy: O'Neile had been not only disappointed by the parliamentary officers who employed him, but he was sensibly mortified by the contemptuous rejection of the English commons who openly censured their officers for having recourse to so unworthy an ally. Owen was at the head of the most efficient body of native soldiers in the country, and by his aid there was a hope of still retrieving the fortune of the war. The landing of Cromwell, August 16th, 1649, put an end to this hope, and quickly altered the character of the war; he brought with him 8,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and £200,000, with considerable stores of all the materials and implements of war. The report of his arrival had been rendered doubtful by long delays: the engrossing interests of that revolution, which ended in his elevation, and the unwillingness of men to serve in Ireland where they had hitherto been allowed to starve, had protracted the existence of the miserable conflict of parties which had so long wasted the country by a lingering course of faction, fanaticism, and intrigue; the civil atmosphere was now to be cleared by a thunder-storm, such as alone could drive down and dispel the unwholesome vapours, which were inconsistent with the natural course of civil existence, and, for a season, restore this country to that uninterrupted progress, in which it has never been allowed to advance by the ordinary law of national growth.

The chief events which immediately followed Cromwell's arrival, are already noticed in this volume.* We shall now therefore pursue the subject no farther than as it immediately concerns the marquess. Being written to by the king to send him an account of the state of affairs, and to give his opinion as to the prudence of his coming to Ireland; the marquess distinctly stated in his answer, the prosperous condition of the parliamentary force, and the utter prostration of the king's: but, nevertheless, advised his coming, as a last resource in a desperate case, and as a course consistent with his honour. The king had, however, in the interval between his letter to the marquess and his receiving the answer, been listening to the proposals of the Scots, and had come to a change of purpose. The marquess, deserted by every aid on which he had placed a vain reliance, having virtually no party, and only seconded by a few gallant leaders, of whom the chief were Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and Clanricarde, continued for some months longer to strive against the irresistible current of a new and overwhelming power. He journeyed from place to place, tried to infuse courage into the panic-stricken, and constancy into the wavering; he contrived by means ruinous to himself, to raise small sums of money, which he distributed with a free hand wherever there was a garrison or a fort still willing to hold out for the king. But the struggle was vain; deserted by the fears of the many, by the treachery of a few, and denounced by the clergy of the Roman church, who saw the triumph of their cause in the downfall of the party with which they had hither-

* Life of Lord Broghill.

to contended; but above all, counteracted by the weakness of the king; the marquess began to perceive the utter hopelessness of the contest. In the treaty concluded at Breda, between Charles and the Scottish commissioners, he gave his consent to the breach of that peace which the marquess of Ormonde had with such difficulty brought about; and by this act cut the last thread of the frail tie which gave the marquess a doubtful party in the island. The king was fully conscious of the injury thus committed, and in his letter of excuse, in which he pleads the necessity of his situation to the marquess, he advises him to take care of his own person, as the last service of importance left him to fulfil; and declares, "I shall take it very unkindly, if I find you do not withdraw yourself so timeously, as to preserve your safety for better times." Thus induced, and seeing no further object in remaining, the marquess addressed himself seriously to prepare for his departure. His last effort was an address to the commissioners of trust, in which he asserts, that his majesty's late declaration against the peace had been enforced, and that he was resolved to assert its validity, provided the "bishops would revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority, and give assurances of not attempting the like for the future. 2dly. That the commissioners of trust should declare the bishops' declaration and excommunication to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty's authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and if the bishops would not give, or observe the assurances before expressed, that they should endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment. 3dly. That the like declaration should be made by all magistrates and officers, civil and military. 4thly. That the lord-lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose, within the limits not possessed by the rebels; and 5thly, should be suffered to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places as he should judge necessary for the defence of the kingdom; wishing at last that some course might be taken for his support, in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the nation, he being deprived of all his own fortunes, upon which he had wholly subsisted ever since he came into the kingdom."

To the first and main proviso of this letter, the bishops replied, that the king, by his late declaration, had cast the kingdom from his protection, and thereby withdrawn his authority; and that the last resource they had left, was a return to their old oath of association: they also declared, that they would not revoke their excommunication and declaration, nor give the pledges demanded by the marquess.

The marquess then called a general assembly at Loughrea, which met on the 15th of November, 1650. To this assembly he communicated his intention to leave Ireland, and proposed for their consideration the question as to the best means for the preservation of the kingdom. This assembly was numerous, and composed of the most respectable of the nobility and gentry, who, though bereft of all their natural influence, were themselves true to the loyal cause; the same feeling was also preserved by a considerable section of the clergy, of whom the hostile class was merely a majority; and these joined the assembly in declaring against the acts of their brethren. A desire was expressed by the assembly that the marquess should formally reply to

the declarations made by the clergy; but he refused to take any further notice of "such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in that declaration," which, as his historian observes, could only impose upon the ignorant populace.

During the sitting of the assembly at Loughrea, the resolution of the marquess received further strength, by a letter written from Scotland, by the king, of which we give an extract: "The hazards," says he in his letter of that date, "and dangers, besides the trouble, I hear you do expose yourself unto on all occasions, make me entreat and command you to have a care of your person, in the preservation of which, (I would have you believe) I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get in Ireland. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country and retire into France, then I do very earnestly desire and entreat you to repair to my brother, the duke of York, to advise and assist him with your counsels; upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have wrote, and sent instructions to him, to be advised by you upon all occasions, and I doubt not of his cheerful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him."*

The bishops also sent to hasten his departure; and, through their messengers, the bishops of Dromore and Dean Kelly, desired that he should commit the royal authority in his hands to certain nominees of their own, to whom they would give their assistance, while they were resolved to resist any others. These were Sir N. Plunket, Terence MacLoghlan, Philip O'Reily, Tirlagh O'Boile, the marquess of Clanricarde, and Dermott O'Shaughnessy. In this proposal it was perfectly understood, that the nomination of the marquess of Clanricarde was merely specious, and under the assumption that he would refuse to act with the others; it was also plainly apparent that the object of the entire selection was to obtain, through the intervention of persons wholly at their disposal, the entire command of the kingdom. Thus miserably will men fight for factious motives, in the very front of approaching perdition.

The marquess of Ormonde appointed lord Clanricarde his deputy. He sailed on the 7th December, 1650, from the bay of Galway, but was still delayed by a correspondence with the assembly at Loughrea, on the appointment of lord Clanricarde. For this purpose he landed at Glaneinagh till the 11th, when he again sailed. The vessel which conveyed him was a frigate of 28 guns, sent over for him from France by the duke of York. He carried with him the earl of Inchiquin, colonel Wogan, and about forty other officers. In the Bay of Biscay they met with a privateer, which was deterred from attacking them by the martial appearance of the company. The passage was very tempestuous, and after three weeks tossing they entered the bay of Perose, in *Bas Bretagne*. Their approach excited alarm in the harbour, and they were fired at by the ships of war, but sending out their yawl, they soon made themselves known, and passed on peacefully to the land so anxiously desired. A vessel containing some of the servants of the

* Carte.

marquess, was lost; it also contained property belonging to the king, and it is thought that the captain, for the purpose of appropriating this, turned back to England, and was cast away near Scilly.

On the departure of the marquess, the lord Clanricarde soon found the difficulties of the trust which he had undertaken. The rapid and sanguinary progress of Cromwell had been terminated by his return to England under the pressure of interests more anxious than the reduction of Ireland, and though the worst of his campaign had been in some important respects nearly decisive, yet the work was not half effected. The winter season was unfavourable to the warfare of the age, and this more especially in Ireland, where the food and climate were found to disagree with the English soldiers, so much that a single campaign frequently disabled them for service; Ireton was therefore compelled to suspend his operations, and the greater part of Connaught and Munster remained untouched; and the Irish, though in no degree formidable in the field, were still far from abandoning the hope of successful hostility. There were in fact two violent parties to be subdued—the king's party now headed by the earl of Clanricarde, and the party of the clergy, who not willing to compromise the views on which they had till then been exclusively intent, were yet at least so far convinced of the real position in which they stood, that they warmly entertained the question of a treaty with the independents. They saw, for they could not but see, that the balance of chances was turned in favour of the parliament, and thought it wise to seize the occasion of a doubtful pause, to make the best terms they might with the stronger side. Ireton had the address to avail himself of their known state of feeling by sending agents to the assembly, to which he represented the desperation of their affairs and proposed a treaty. The proposal was at first rejected by the influence of Clanricarde and the feeling of his party, but revived by the influence of the clergy headed by Nicholas French the titular bishop of Ferns. But the remonstrances of Clanricarde, joined by the principal of the nobility and gentry, were too well grounded in the strong facts and admissions from which their opponents had no appeal, not to be for the time decisive; and the clerical party were in their turn compelled to give way to a boldness of declaration to which they were little accustomed, and yielded to the general sense of the assembly. Thus baffled, they still persevered in their steady and systematic resistance to the whole policy of Clanricarde, and by these methods of influence and active but private concert, they rendered his efforts powerless; more alert to embody resistance, and to effect their immediate objects by means of that pervading influence which was the result of their peculiar connexion with the people, than prudent in their calculation of final results, they still toiled for an ascendancy which was passing from their grasp, through the medium of events without the circle of their contemplation; they still hoped to restore the confederacy of 1642, and did not relinquish their favourite, if not rather exclusive aim, the complete establishment of the papal power. Under this singular infatuation, a treaty opened with the duke of Lorraine in behalf of the king, was by their endeavours perverted into a proposal of a very different character, in so much that the earl of Clanricarde was compelled formally to disavow the conduct

of his own agents. This curious episode in the history of the disjointed times under our notice cannot be here introduced in detail, as it would lead to a very considerable digression from the main subject of our memoir. The duke of Lorraine had commenced a treaty with the king for a large loan: the security was not satisfactory, but in the course of the negotiation the private interests and the ambition of the duke were strongly introduced into the transaction: he had for some time been endeavouring to obtain from the court of Rome a sentence to annul his first marriage, as he had married a second wife while the first was yet alive; the Irish agents also contrived to inflame his mind with the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of Ireland. Under these motives, which are fully confirmed and explained by the language of articles proposed by himself, and to be found at length in many of our historians, the duke was easily prevailed upon to lend £5000, which was laid out in arms and ammunition, which arrived in the Bay of Galway during the meeting of the assembly and had material influence upon their determinations. The duke proposed to assume the protection of the country, on the condition of being invested with the entire authority and receiving absolute submission. To these proposals the assembly lent a willing ear. Scorning all communication with the lord-deputy, the bishops declared their consent, and pronounced the proposal of the duke to be the last resource of their nation. They were desired by the Abbé de St Katharine, the duke's envoy, to sign their consent, but they recoiled from a step so decisive; they could not at once depart so widely from established precedent, or commit themselves so far. The consent of the earl of Clanricarde, would, they were aware, be demanded by their followers, though not by themselves. But Clanricarde met these proposals with uncompromising firmness, and refused to admit the Abbé to an audience of leave. The Abbé was intimidated and offered a loan of £20,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, and proposed to refer the question of the Protectorship to the mediation of a treaty at Brussels. On this Sir N. Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commissioned with lord Taafe, and authorized to treat with the duke according to such instructions as they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquess of Ormonde. But while the lord Taafe proceeded to Paris where the marquess of Ormonde was at the time residing, other proceedings were in their progress at Brussels. Thither the bishop of Ferns, with a company of the clergy who were of his party, and several agents from the Irish cities in their interest, had arrived, and were completely possessed of the duke's ear. By these, he was persuaded that it was in their power to put him into full possession of the kingdom of Ireland. Plunket and Browne were impressed by the strong language of the bishop, and were also persuaded that it was essentially expedient to secure the money at all risks. They were easily induced to disclaim the lord-deputy's commission, and in the name of the Irish nation they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was invested with royal authority in Ireland. A petition to the pope was at the same time drawn up by the bishop of Ferns and

* Borlase, p. 351.

signed by Plunket; Browne refused his signature, and that of Taaffe was signed for him in his absence and without his concurrence. A formal protest from lord Clanricarde reached the duke, and terminated these disgraceful transactions.

We shall not delay to describe the concurrent course of proceedings, relative to the same affair in Ireland. The Irish clergy acted in full conformity with the undertakings of their deputation in Brussels; they convened synods and made public declarations in favour of the duke of Lorraine; they prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricarde and their opponents, to be produced when it should be safe, and declared the revival of the original confederacy.

Ireton in the mean time was not neglectful of his post. And the military operations already related in the lives of Coote and lord Broghill took place; the lords Castlehaven and Clanricarde, with their ill-conditioned men and inadequate means, were after much strenuous but fruitless exertion of activity, courage, and skill, compelled to see the parliamentary generals gain post after post. Ireton having obtained possession of Limerick advanced to Galway, where he died of the plague, and his place was efficiently filled by Ludlow, who conducted his duty with a decision and stern severity that spread universal dismay. A general treaty of submission in the name of the whole kingdom was proposed by the assembly of Leinster. In Galway, Clanricarde was prevailed on to propose a treaty of submission to Ludlow, but the time of treaty had stolen away while they had been engaged in the infatuation of intrigue, and the proposal was met by a stern denial. The tone of authority was taken up, and the litigious and brawling synods and conventions were made to understand, that henceforth they were to regard themselves not as parties to equal negotiation, but as rebels and public disturbers placed upon their trial by the authority of the commonwealth of England. These intimations were indeed disregarded by the crowd of inflamed partisans, clerical and lay, who had been accustomed only to the effects of a war of treaties, declarations, and miserable intrigues; but Preston the governor of Galway, who preserved his discretion and saw the danger in its true light, gave the not unimpressive warning of retreat by making his escape by sea, and the city was actually surrendered, while the synod were planning imaginary triumphs. In the midst of this adverse concurrence of circumstances, Clanricarde preserved his dignity and firmness; and having to the very latest moment maintained the cause of which he was the official leader, he submitted to the king's commands and treated with the parliamentary leaders.

Fleetwood was appointed to the government of Ireland; and the parliament, entering seriously on the consideration of the measures necessary for its final settlement, two acts were discussed; one for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels, another for the settlement of the claims of those to whom they were to be transferred. Some were to lose two-thirds and some the whole; among the latter was expressly named the marquis of Ormonde with lord Inchiquin, Bramhal bishop of Derry, and the earl of Roscommon. But the train of events which at this time so long involved the British Isles in the chaos of political disorganization reached its end, and the condition of the country utterly

exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted disorder, was relieved by the ascendancy of a single command. The rule of the most atrocious despotism that ever disgraced a throne, is a slight evil compared with the tyranny of popular factions; but the government of Oliver Cromwell was, considering all circumstances, just, beneficent and statesmanlike; in Ireland it was tempered by the disinterested wisdom of his son Henry Cromwell.

The marquess of Ormonde, having passed some months (with the interruption of one short visit to Paris,) with his family in Caen, was summoned to Paris to give his counsel and assistance in the affairs of the duke of York, by which he was detained for a considerable time during the summer and autumn of 1652. The little money he had been enabled to apply to his own expences and those of his family was quite exhausted. He was compelled to board for a pistole per week in Paris and to appear on foot in the streets, which was not considered respectable among the Parisians. Under these depressing circumstances—in which the intrinsic elevation of few characters can shield them from the slight of the world, the respect of which follows the outward reflection of prosperity—the spirit, sense, and dignity of the marquess, together with his well attested political virtue and wisdom, attracted universal reverence and regard. A curious anecdote related by Carte, may serve to illustrate the free and spirited indifference to pecuniary considerations, which is a well marked feature of the marquess's character, and at the same time exemplify the manners of the aristocracy of that period. We shall extract Carte's narrative. "The marquess himself was left in no small distress in Paris; but treated on account of his qualities and virtues with great respect by the French nobility. One of these having invited him to pass some days at his house in St Germain en Laye, there happened on this occasion an adventure, the relation whereof may perhaps gratify the reader's curiosity. The marquess of Ormonde, in compliance with an inconvenient English custom, at his coming away, left with the maitre d' Hotel ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprised at being informed by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind him, driving furiously as if desirous to overtake him. The marquess had scarcely left St Germain when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who, exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the maitre d' Hotel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon inquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the marquess of Ormonde. The marquess upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect; but was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman which forbade all embraces, till he had received satisfaction on a point which had given him great offence. He asked the marquess if

he had reason to complain of any disrespect or other defect which he had met with in the too mean, but very friendly entertainment which his house afforded; and being answered by the marquess, that his treatment had been full of civility, that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life, and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, 'that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants, was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him as a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country, otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation; but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront.' The marquess," adds the historian, "acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence. The same way of thinking still prevails, though possibly not in so great a degree, as at that time, in France; but few men of quality will suffer a servant to stay a moment in their houses who receives any thing from a stranger or a visitant. They generally treat their servants (who think themselves settled, if they get into a good family) with great affection and kindness; but will not allow them in any degree or manner to depend upon any other than themselves; so that their families, however large and numerous, are more orderly and quiet, and the gentlemen are better served than in any other nation of Europe."*

The distress to which the marquess was reduced was indeed so great that it became necessary to take some decided step, for the suitable maintenance of his marchioness and children. In this emergency one obvious resource occurred, the estates which had been possessed by the marchioness in her own right, might reasonably be claimed from the justice of Cromwell, who had always expressed a great respect for the marchioness, and was also known to favour the adherents of the royal family in Ireland. It was probably under somewhat more circumstantial views of the chances attendant upon such a step, that the marchioness went over to England to solicit for a provision out of her own estates. Her claim was respectfully entertained by Cromwell, who obtained for her an order of parliament, authorising the commissioners for Irish affairs to set apart, as a provision for the marchioness and her children, the clear yearly value of £2000 a-year out of her own inheritance, together with Dunmore house near Kilkenny for her residence.†

The marquess was in the mean time not allowed to remain without occupation; being a principal party to all the exertions made in foreign courts for the king's restoration, and the entire manager of the very troublesome, laborious and difficult negotiations attendant upon the endeavour to raise an army for the king's service, among the Irish

* Carte.

† Carte, II. p. 161.

who were engaged in foreign service; his courage, address and efficient activity in every undertaking, not only made him the principal support of the king in the midst of the various emergencies of his uncertain condition of dependence upon the shifting alliance of intriguing courts; they also subjected him to extraordinary fatigues and dangers, in his efforts to serve the royal cause and the interests of the members of the royal family, who seem to have turned to him for aid in every exigency. Among many occasions illustrative of this, Carte details at considerable length the severities which were resorted to by the queen Dowager of England and the queen Regent of France, to induce the duke of Gloucester to change his religion. The young prince had been set at liberty and permitted by Cromwell to join his family in France; he had been educated in the Protestant religion, but was not long with them when all the ordinary resources of persuasion, argument, and menace, were employed to induce him to conform to the church of Rome; the young prince showed a firmness, good sense, and amiability of temper truly admirable in one of his tender age, and the last resort of personal constraint which had no effect, was succeeded by a most cruel and unnatural expulsion from the *Louvre* where he had resided with his mother. The English residents in Paris were forbidden to entertain him; and his mother refused to see his face again; but while these proceedings were in their course, a strong apprehension was at the same time communicated to the king, lest some still more stringent course should be resorted to, and he sent the marquess from Cologne, where he then was, to attempt his extrication from so dangerous a situation, of which the consequences, should the Dowager succeed, would be so destructive to the king's interests in England. The marquess after a laborious journey arrived in Paris, and by his presence and counsel not only confirmed the resolution of the prince, but overawed and repressed the activity of the queen's party. After being turned out of doors by his mother the prince was received by lord Hatton, with whom he continued for two months, while the marquess raised money by pawning his garter and the jewel formerly presented to him by the parliament, to enable them to travel to the king. When they reached Antwerp the marquess was seized with a severe and dangerous fever which delayed their journey, so that the spring was far advanced when they reached Cologne. On this journey the marquess had a narrow escape from being drowned in the Rhine. Having gone to bathe in this river, he put his clothes in a boat under the bank, which he committed to the charge of a servant, and swam out into the stream; when he was out the servant left his charge, and the boat was taken across the river by a stranger; the incident attracted the attention of the marquess who seeing the boat in which he had left his clothes on its way, immediately turned back and crossing the stream recovered it. Having dressed himself he got into the boat and directed his course toward the side from which he came; he did not however succeed in keeping the course he would have steered, and was not only carried a great way down the river, but at last found exceeding difficulty in regaining the bank.

The marquess on his arrival at Cologne, was sent by the king to conduct the princess royal to him, and on his return attended the royal party to Frankfort, where they went to see the great fair. He

was next sent to the duke of Neuberg to solicit his mediation with the Spanish court, for its assistance in his majesty's behalf. And shortly after the cardinal Mazarin, having written a letter to Oliver Darcy, titular bishop of Dromore misrepresenting the conduct of the marquess and others who had engaged the Irish officers and soldiers in the French service, to leave it after the French government had entered into a league with Cromwell; he was replied to by the marquess in a letter very remarkable for its dignity and justice of sentiment, as well as clearness of statement: such was its force that it was at the time taken up by the cardinal's opponents, as a means of attack upon his government.* We extract the last paragraph. "And since he hath been pleased to usurp an authority to judge and condemn me, with circumstances of calumny not usually proceeding from the minister of one prince to the servant of another, I conceive he gives me just ground to put you in mind, that by his ministration, an alliance is made between France and the murderers of a just and lawful king; and that not only without any necessity, but upon such infamous conditions as no necessity can justify: I mean the banishing out of France dispossessed princes, the grand-children to Henry the Fourth. Add to this, that his Eminence is the instrument of such an alliance, as gives countenance and support to the usurpers of the rights of kings, and the professed persecutors of Roman catholicks, and the destroyers of your nation, and to those by whom the nobility and gentry of it are massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven to beggary abroad."

On receiving an intimation of the king's wishes from the marquess, lord Muskerry proceeded to Paris, and according to the terms of his engagement in the French service, demanded a discharge for himself and his men. The cardinal with some hesitation granted a pass for himself, but refused it for the men; Muskerry went to Flanders and was followed by his regiment to a man. They were formed into a new corps, under the command of the duke of York as colonel, and Muskerry as lieutenant-colonel.

Having passed a very distressing winter at Brussels, where he was commissioned to meet Don Juan for the king, it was suggested by this commander that there should be some competent person in England to take the conduct of the loyalists, before the king of Spain could safely venture to embark his forces in the service of Charles. The accounts from England very much exaggerated the strength and determination of this party, but the Spaniard had probably received accounts more nearly approaching the truth. The marquess without hesitation volunteered on this difficult service, "proposing to go over in disguise, and to know the utmost of what could be done, and that if things were ripe for action he might be at the head of it, and if they grew successful to such a degree as might invite the great men of the kingdom, such as the marquess of Hertford, the earl of Northumberland, or others to come in, who might scruple to be commanded by him, he would resign the command and serve under them, &c."† This

* The letter is in Carte's appendix, but too long and too little to our present purpose to extract it here.

† Carte.

devoted offer was accepted with real or seeming reluctance. To cover the design and divert inquiry the absence of the marquess was prepared for by a fictitious embassy into Germany, on which having proceeded as far as Cleves with Sir R. Beling, the marquess passed into Holland where he met Daniel O'Neile, and with him took shipping for England, where he landed in January on the Essex coast. Having proceeded as far as Chelmsford he and O'Neile parted, and he went on to London. There he found Sir W. Honeywood, who conducted him to a place prepared for his concealment, and sought out for him the persons he desired to meet. The marquess began most judiciously with the inferior class of persons, from whose representations he might best infer the real state of facts. His first meeting was in an upper room at an apothecary's with about eight persons, to whom he was introduced by Honeywood as "a gentleman for whom he undertook, who was going to the king, and was the fittest person who might be found to tell his majesty how all things stood." To him, therefore, he assured them, they might fully explain their minds and state what they could do. All however refused to make communications of so dangerous a nature to one of whom they knew nothing; they declared that they would await the arrival of some person of sufficient authority from his majesty. On this the marquess disclosed himself, to their great surprise and confusion; they had in fact professed beyond their means, and were little prepared to be so taken at their words. Their statements were so incoherent, and so little grounded on any facts or probabilities of a tangible nature, as to convince the marquess that there was nothing to be expected from such vague and confused boasting. He nevertheless said every thing to encourage the good affection of these persons. He next met colonel Russel, Sir R. Willis, and other noblemen and gentlemen, at one time in Bedford gardens and again in Gray's inn. These gentlemen were more distinct and less sanguine in their statements. The marquess met several who were willing to come forward with such men as they could raise, but there was no substantial plan or preparation, nor did there appear any hope of being able to effect the sole object which could be of any real or efficient importance, which was the seizure of some seaport town of adequate strength. All was scattered and uncertain, and it was apparent, that the pervading vigilance and activity of Cromwell was such, that the conspirators against his government could not without much danger and difficulty even venture to communicate with each other. The marquess soon received from his friend lord Broghill an intimation that his being in England was known to Cromwell, and was under the necessity of escaping without delay. It was afterwards discovered from the correspondence found among Cromwell's papers, that he had been betrayed by one of the gentlemen who had been presented to him as a royalist. During this visit to England, he had been subject to extraordinary fatigue, and the anxiety of increasing alarm; he was several times under the necessity of changing his quarters, and so great was the precaution required, that he never undressed at night, but lay down in his clothes, to be ready for a sudden escape.

The sum of his observations upon the prospects of the royal family amounted to this, that the spirit of the people was favourable to a

rising in favour of the king, to a degree even beyond his expectations; but such was the vigilance and activity of Cromwell, and so completely did he hold all the civil and military powers of the kingdom, that it would be vain to hope for any organized movement, unless with the aid of strong external support. If, however, the king should obtain the promised aid from Spain, the marquess advised a descent upon Yarmouth, which might be secured without a blow, before Cromwell could have time to stir. Charles was eager to put this plan into execution, and the Spanish general, Don Juan, was liberal in promises and assurances of the requisite aid; and both the king and his friends were thus kept amused with deceitful hopes during the spring of 1658. During this time, the marquess lay concealed at Paris, in as much danger, says Carte, "of the bastille there, as he had been of the Tower in London!" He had fortunately two sisters there, the countess Clancarty and lady Hamilton, at whose lodgings he found concealments more endurable than it was always his fortune to meet. While there he received orders from Charles to come to him with such speed as his safety would admit: and as he had, nearly at the same time, received intelligence that Cromwell had sent to the cardinal Mazarin to secure him, his escape was not without both difficulty and danger: and as it was not to be doubted that he would be watched for on the road to Flanders, he had no resource but to direct his flight to Italy.

Discontented with the conduct of Spain, the king at last entertained the project of going thither himself, but was dissuaded on many strong grounds by his advisers; and the cardinal De Retz, whom he consulted through the marquess, advised that he should at least postpone his design till the campaign in which the Spanish army was then engaged should be concluded. At this time the king's finances received a seasonable reinforcement by the marriage of the earl of Ossory with Emilia, daughter of Louis of Nassau, with whom he received £10,000, of which the greater part went to the royal coffer. To effect this match, which was chiefly rendered desirable to the family by the worth and attractions of the young lady who had won the young earl's heart, the marchioness was under the necessity of settling £1200 per annum out of her small estate. During the transactions which we have been here relating, the condition of the marchioness was far from happy. Separated from her lord, she was immersed in litigation and in protracted applications and suits about the lands which were assigned for her maintenance. She was first compelled to prove her right to these lands, and the rates at which they had been let in 1640, which was the standard of value by which the portion allowed by parliament was to be ascertained. After her schedule was given in and examined by a committee, and the assignment made, the lands were found short of the value at which they had been rated. On some parts the rent was exceeded by the contributions and assessments to which they were subject, and others were subject to mortgages and other incumbrances. From these and other causes, which so affected the tenure of the lands that they could not be let to advantage, the marchioness found it necessary to make a fresh application to have a more profitable settlement of these lands. She was in this successful; but in consequence of the complication of her affairs, was

necessitated to remain alone for two years in Ireland for their arrangement; and when this was effected in 1655, she went over to England for her children. There she was further afflicted by the imprisonment of her eldest son, the earl of Ossory, of whose growing reputation Cromwell was so jealous, that after giving him leave to go abroad, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered him to the Tower. Having sent the rest of the children to Acton, she remained in London to solicit the enlargement of the earl. She addressed her petition to Cromwell in the presence of his crowded court; the Protector "hoped that she would excuse him in that respect, and told her that he had more reason to be afraid of her than of any body." The high-spirited lady marchioness, understanding him more seriously than he intended, replied without embarrassment, "that she desired no favour, and thought it strange that she, who was never concerned in any plot, and never opened her mouth against his person or government, should be represented to him as so formidable a person." "No, madam," answered Cromwell, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence on all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over the other party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please."* Such civil evasions were all she could for a long time obtain; but the Protector's compliments were founded in truth, and so great was the ascendancy of the character of the marchioness, that he always treated her with a degree of deferential respect which he seldom showed to others, never refusing her an audience, though he did not like the object, and when she retired never failing to attend her to her coach. The earl of Ossory was at last set free upon his falling ill of an ague; but did not receive his discharge till the following spring, when the marchioness sent him to Holland to join his father.

The death of Cromwell brightened the hopes of the king and of his supporters; storms which afforded ample promise of change soon began to arise in England, and the continental powers contemplating the amendment of his fortunes, began to assume a more complacent tone, and to be more in earnest in their offers of aid to the king. These details we must here omit. The marquess was sent to Paris, where the king's affairs began to wear a favourable aspect, to further the advantages to be hoped for from the friendly professions of Turenne, and also to effect a reconciliation between the king and his mother, the queen-dowager Henrietta. So much activity was used on this occasion, that all was soon in readiness for a descent upon the English coast, when news of the unfortunate termination of Boothes' insurrection caused them to postpone their effort to another occasion, which none doubted would soon occur, as, by the death of Cromwell, England was left without an efficient government. The history of the intrigues and cabals of Wallingford house, and the deposition of Richard Cromwell, we have noticed in our memoir of lord Broghill.

Among the anxious proceedings of the royal party at this juncture, the only one we are here concerned to mention, is the conference between the marquess of Ormonde and the cardinal Mazarin. The

* Carte.

king had made a pressing application for an interview with the cardinal, who being yet apprehensive of the English parliament, declined such a meeting, under the pretence that it would prejudice his efforts for the king. It was then arranged that he should meet the marquess as if by accident, and confer with him upon the king's affairs. The cardinal, according to the concerted arrangement, rode out upon the 12th November, 1659, and was met by the marquess, who represented to him strongly the state of faction in England—the general disposition of the people in favour of the king—the actual engagements of many persons of leading interest—and all the strong probabilities of a restoration, if France would take the part which ought to be expected, on every just consideration to the claims of kindred or to the cause of all constitutional authority. But the cardinal's favourite object was the depression of the power of England, and arguments drawn from principles of equity or general expediency had no weight in his counsels. He continued firm to his policy, which may be here sufficiently comprehended from the single fact, that he offered to support Fleetwood with money and other aids, upon the condition of his perseverance in those courses which were adopted for the maintenance of the commonwealth against the efforts of the royalists.

But a re-action too broad and deep for the machinations of a worn-out faction had been for some time making its progress in England, and at length began to flow in an authoritative channel. By the natural, though seemingly accidental concurrence of circumstances, which it belongs to the English historian to detail, a commander of just and sagacious understanding, who was capable of perceiving and entering with just discrimination into the feeling of the time, and the course which all circumstances render expedient, was placed at the head of the army, and from that moment all things paved the way for the restoration of the house of Stuart. While the king was yet in some uncertainty as to the conduct of Monk, he received an intimation that Sir G. Downing, lately arrived from England, desired a conference with some authorized person on the part of his majesty, and expressed a strong wish that the marquess of Ormonde might be the person. On this the marquess was sent to the Hague, when Downing, who was there as the British resident, met him secretly, and informed him of the real state of affairs in England.

The restoration immediately followed. The king was accompanied into England by the marquess of Ormonde in the end of May, 1660. After the public ceremonials attendant upon the king's arrival were over, he was sworn a member of the privy council, and made steward of the household: he was also appointed lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol. He was also restored to his estates, of which part had been arbitrarily seized by king James, and the remainder by the parliament—an act of justice, which can hardly be viewed as compensation for the heavy debts contracted, and the accumulated losses of ten years' deprivation: but the marquess was superior to the considerations by which ordinary minds are wholly swayed, and was content, although not relieved from embarrassments, which accompanied him through life. More worthy of commemoration was the restoration to his office

of chancellor to the university of Dublin, and the changes made with his usual decision for the purpose of redeeming that seat of learning from the effects of parliamentary interference. Henry Cromwell, whose political conduct in Ireland exhibited discretion and political tact, had acted with less than his usual justice towards the university, into which he introduced persons wholly destitute of any pretension but those of factious politics and schismatical tenets. The marquess proceeded with caution and zeal to restore that eminent seat of knowledge to its efficient functions as the moral and intellectual light of Ireland, and as one of the great leading protestant seminaries in Europe. He had Dr Seele appointed to the provostship, and most of the fellows who had been displaced for non-compliance with the parliament reinstated in their fellowships. We shall have, hereafter, to enter in detail upon this subject.

The marchioness of Ormonde came over to England to meet her lord, and the earl of Ossory also arrived from Holland with his bride; and his whole family, after so many trying years of adversity, collected to meet the marquess in London.

The marquess had soon an opportunity, of which he availed himself, to ward off a ruinous blow from many of the best old families in Ireland. Some time before the arrival of the king, the English parliament had brought in a bill of indemnity, in which a clause was introduced, that "this act should not extend to license or restore to any person or persons (other than the earl of Ormonde and the protestants of Ireland,) any estate sold or disposed of by both or either of the houses of parliament, or any convention assuming the style or name of a parliament, or any person or persons deriving authority from them," &c., &c. Lord Aungier, however, prevailed to have this clause postponed until the marquess might be consulted. The marquess strongly and effectually opposed it, and received in return the general acknowledgment of the Irish nation; for few old families had wholly escaped the effects of parliamentary usurpation.

It would prolong this memoir, which we have been vainly endeavouring to reduce within our ordinary bounds, to a length quite inconsistent with the limits assigned to this work, were we to detail the train of circumstances connected with the state of the protestant church in Ireland, when the marquess, by the free and prompt exertion of his great influence, was the instrument to save it from destruction. These facts will find an appropriate place in the next division of this period. It may now be sufficient to state briefly that the property of the church had passed into the hands of the parliamentary ministers, or into forfeiture; while, at the same time, insidious attempts were made to mislead the king into grants and alienations, by which he would be deprived of the means of restitution. An address from the primate and eight bishops was transmitted to the marquess, who exerted himself effectually to arrest the evil, and in the course of a few years placed that respectable and useful body on a secure and permanent basis.

On the 13th February, 1661, the marquess was joined in commission with the duke of Albemarle and other lords, to determine on the claims usually advanced at coronations, preparatory to the coronation of Charles, at which ceremony, having been created duke of Ormonde

on the 30th of March, he assisted, bearing king Edward's crown before the king, in his office of high steward of England.

The restitution of the duke's estates, though apparently a liberal act of royal and national consideration for his real services, was yet far below his actual claims, had he condescended to put forward any claims upon this occasion. The estates which were restored to him were of two main classes, of which the first were those lands held by his vassals on the feudal tenure of military service, and which were legally determined by their taking arms against him in the rebellion. The second consisted of those lands which were in the hands of government or of military adventurers, who on the change of affairs had no hope of retaining them, and gave them up freely and without a murmur. He was largely indebted to the crown, under very peculiar circumstances; as the debts were incurred in the service of the crown, and had devolved to it by the forfeiture of creditors, such debts were ordered to be discharged. The duke's claim is indeed so well stated in the king's letters for putting him in possession of his estates, that we think it fit to insert the preamble here:—"It having pleased Almighty God in so wonderful a manner to restore us to our dominions and government, and thereby into a power not only of protecting our good subjects, but of repairing by degrees the great damages and losses they have undergone in the late ill times by their signal fidelity and zeal for our service, which we hold ourself obliged in honour and conscience to do, as soon and by such means as we shall be able: nobody can wonder or envy that we should, as soon as is possible, enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant and eminent service performed to our father of blessed memory and ourself, upon the most abstracted considerations of honour, duty, and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation, by our right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James, marquis of Ormonde, lord steward of our household, who from the very beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, frankly engaged himself in the hardest and most difficult parts of our service, and laying aside all considerations or thought of his own particular fortune and convenience, as freely engaged that, as his person, in the prosecution and advancement of our interest; and when the power of our enemies grew so great that he was no longer able to contend with it, he withdrew himself from that our kingdom, and from that time attended our person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same constancy and alacrity, having been never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsel, and in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion. And therefore we say all good men would wonder, if being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us, and which his continual and most necessary attendance about us must still keep him from attending himself with the care and diligence he might otherwise do; we knowing well besides the arrears due to him, during the time he commanded the army, and before he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that from the time he was by our royal father put into the supreme command of that kingdom, and during the whole

time that he had the administration thereof, but wholly supported himself and our service upon his own fortune and inheritance, and over and above borrowed and supplied great sums of money upon the engagement or sale of his own lands, and disbursed the same upon carrying on the publick service, as well during the time of his being there under our royal father, as since under us."

In addition to the restoration of his estates, the duke obtained his ancient perquisite of the prizage of wines, which his ancestors had held immemorially, until Cromwell seized upon this right, and converted it into a branch of excise.

The settlement of Ireland was soon found less practicable than had been expected. There was a confusion of parties, whose inconsistent claims were grounded, some in pledges real or implied, some on right, some on possession, some on merits, and more than all, many on their power to give trouble and create perplexity. For the satisfaction of these, so far as such a result was consistent with the nature of things, the means were absolutely wanting, and a course of intrigue and litigation, violence, and misrepresentation commenced. Ireland, in which the hatred and terror of its recent and long disorders had not subsided, was filled with the noise of complaint: the numbers who had been ejected from their possessions looked for a speedy reinstatement; those who had obtained possession by authorized means claimed to be confirmed; and those who were possessed by usurpation feared to be deprived. The king was more desirous to conciliate those who might become formidable, than to satisfy the claims either of gratitude or justice. To the confederates he was pledged by a treaty of peace, concluded in his name and by his authorized lieutenant: the protestant army had the merit of a seasonable declaration in his favour, and of being the efficient instruments of wresting Ireland from the Cromwellians: numbers too were creditors, and had advanced their money on the consideration of Irish lands: many who had rebelled at home had served him abroad: but above all, there were those who had never for a moment, through so many dreadful trials of their constancy and loyalty, lost sight of their allegiance, and whose claims were therefore the most undoubted on every consideration. To satisfy these various demands, and to extricate himself from the weariness of business and the vexatious intrusion of complaint, the king was willing to sacrifice his own lands in Ireland. By the exertions of the earl of Orrery and others, a calculation of disposable lands was presently made, and a declaration already noticed,* published by the king. It was transmitted to the lords-justices, with instructions for putting it into execution. Its effect was to produce general dissatisfaction and remonstrance: those who had least claim to consideration were those who had most reason for content, as it was rather framed for conciliation than for justice. Among those whose case included the severest hardships, was a large portion of the Roman Catholic body, which had either taken no part, or a part manifestly enforced in the rebel-

* Historical Introduction, p. 27. This declaration failed to satisfy, as much by the concession of lands belonging to loyal subjects which had been taken possession of by the soldiers of Cromwell in lieu of pay during the rebellion, as from any or indeed all other causes.

lion. Justice manifestly demanded a full consideration of their rights, and such accordingly was not formally denied; but practically, all distinctions in their favour were encumbered with difficulties of an obvious nature, and these difficulties were aggravated by the operation of prejudices against them, which were partly founded in realities too obvious not to have imposing effect, and partly in the interested hostility of their opponents. They complained of the rigour of conditions, which made it impossible for any accused papist to prove his innocence, and justly complained that the conduct which was now decided as proving their disloyalty had not been matter of choice: that the lords-justices had excluded them alike from the service or from the protection of the crown, and compelled them to reside in the quarters of the rebels, who possessed for a long time the most considerable parts of the country. The answers to this remonstrance would, if recited, only serve to show the lengths to which sophistry may be ventured in support of open injustice. Among other fallacies, the necessity of assuming the mere fact of residence as a sufficient test was asserted on the peculiarly self-destroying ground, that in most cases there could be no other test; a statement which seems to involve the abandonment of the charge. But we dwell on these facts here only because they illustrate the real tendency of rebellion to draw down a frightful amount of retributive consequences upon a people. The prejudice which it awakens at a distance, where its guilt and horrors alone can reach, without any extenuating facts, is a permanent evil, against which a moment's reflection will show there is no counteraction in the nature of things; for while the report of crime and disorder travels far and finds numerous records, quiet honesty and good conduct make no report and find no place in history; and in the din and rumour of national insurrections, all who are involved must be considered as parties engaged: and this moral necessity is in the present case much increased by the fact, that the agency of ecclesiastical intrigue, and of the motives of a religious party, must, in the apprehension of the spectator, have seemed to identify the creed itself with the cause, and the Roman Catholic laity with the corporate politics of their hierarchy.

The Irish parliament was convened to pass the declaration into an enactment. The constitution of this parliament was regulated by the actual possession of the lands: being mainly composed of adventurers who had by several means obtained large estates of which the titles were either wrongful, uncertain, or requiring confirmation, their first and main effort was to secure the advantage which they held; and in this they were successful, so far as their possessions can be regarded as liable to the danger they feared. They also made some strong but not equally successful efforts, to secure the interests of the protestant established church in Ireland against the other protestant denominations which were then striving to obtain the ascendancy. On the discussion of the king's declaration, it found cordial support from a body whose objects it favoured, and accordingly the commons were in its favour; but it excited the indignation of the lords, who saw that its effect must be the destruction of the most ancient and noblest families in the kingdom. They put forward many strong objections, and clearly exposed the manifold grievances and wrongs which such provi-

sions as it contained must have inflicted on unoffending thousands: and affirmed that the king had issued his declaration on misinformation. Among other objections, they examined the proceedings of the court of claims, which they found to be dilatory, inefficient, and corrupt; but above all, they exposed in strong colours the iniquities of the "*doubling ordinance*," a project set on foot by the parliament during the great rebellion, in order to levy money by a loan on Irish forfeitures. For this it had been enacted that every adventurer who should advance one-fourth more than his original adventure should have it doubled on account, and receive Irish lands according to his claim so increased. It was computed that by this unauthorized compact, the lands lost to the king would amount to 142,000 acres. A clause was introduced into the bill with the king's consent, that the adventurers should receive lands to the precise amount of the *actual payments* they had made. The bill was, after various delays, drawn up and transmitted to the lords-justices, who made several alterations of their own, and then sent it over to England to be finally examined and confirmed.

The struggle of parties was thus transferred to England; and, considering the history of previous events and the state of opinion there, the cause could hardly have been carried into a court less disposed to equity. The deeds of the previous rebellion had impressed England with horror and contempt: the Irish party was without support, and destitute of prudence, discretion, or money: their enemies had all of these. The adventurers, as the purchasers of Irish lands have been technically called, had raised a large sum by subscription among themselves for the support of their claims.

In this state of affairs the Irish party had but one resource, and that in their infatuation they cast from them. The duke of Ormonde's influence, his tried love of justice, his temper, moderation, and disinterested character, all marked him as the fit advocate of those who had strong equitable claims and no friends. His advice was offered and his aid volunteered. His opinion was strongly expressed in a letter to Sir M. Eustace, who was an earnest advocate in their behalf, and is worthy of notice here:—"We are," says he, "in the heat of our debates upon the great bill; and I fear the liberty allowed the Irish to speak for themselves, will turn to their prejudice, by the unskilful use they make of it, in justifying themselves, instructing the king and council what is good for them, and recriminating of others: whereas, a modest extenuation of their crimes, an humble submission to, and imploring his majesty's grace, and a declaration of their hearty desire to live quietly and brotherly with their fellow-subjects for the future, would better have befitted the disadvantages they were under, and have prevailed more than all their eloquence. But it is long since I have given over any hope that they would do, or be advised to do what was best for them, or be persuaded that what might properly, and for their advantage be said by others, would not only change its nature coming from them, but hinder others from making use of their arguments, lest they might be suspected of communicating counsels with them; which is a reproach I will avoid almost as much as I will the guilt of being of their party."

In opposition to the advice of the duke, the Irish agents took a lofty

and arrogant tone, and threw themselves wholly on their merits. There were among them individuals whose enmity to the duke excited them to take all those means to hurt his reputation, which are ever so easily used, and so available among the multitude. His advice was imputed to his wish to sink the real merits of their cause: his well-known zeal for the protestant religion, so broadly marked in the whole conduct of his life, gave force to the base insinuation of a motive which was only worthy of the person by whom it was suggested. Instead of gratitude, the duke met insult and calumny, which wounded his feelings, though it could not affect a character which stood high above the range of such base missiles. The consequence was, that although he frequently interposed by his vote and influence to prevent injustice, which could be prevented in no other way, he studiously avoided taking any public part in the business of the settlement. "He adhered," says Carte, "so firmly to this resolution, that I do not find he was one of any committee to which that matter was referred by the council, until after he was made lord-lieutenant; reserving himself, however, for his particular friends, and such as having adhered to the peace, applied to him for certificates of their behaviour, and for his interposition in their behalf, which he never declined, being always ready to do them all the good offices in his power, as often as occasions offered.*" The Irish party were wholly unsuccessful in their most especial efforts; and, as we have said, attributing their ill success to the private influence of the duke, they sent one of their agents to remonstrate with his grace. The gentleman who was sent on this errand conducted himself with such insolence, that he was sent to the Tower, but released on submission.†

The difficulties which arose in the inquiries which followed, and the serious obstacles which presented themselves to any effort at a satisfactory adjustment of claims, so opposite, and attended with so many perplexing considerations, led the king to the determination of sending over a lord-lieutenant. The duke of Albemarle was reluctant to become the arbiter of so many jarring interests and conflicting parties. He expressed to the king his dislike to the post, and strongly urged that the duke of Ormonde alone was competent to the execution of the desired settlement. Unfortunately for the duke, he could not shrink from an office which had upon him all the strong claims of the most peremptory obligation; and on the 6th Nov., 1661, he was declared lord-lieutenant in the council. His own sentiments on the appointment are expressed in the following extract from one of his private letters:—"You are pleased to concern yourself so much in my fortune, as to congratulate with me the addition of honour the king thought fit to place in my family, when he made me duke. The same friendship will dispose you now to condole with me for the very uneasy service he has designed to appoint for me in Ireland, as his lieutenant. In that employment, besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with, and the other suspecting that

* Carte, ii. p. 236.

† Carte. Southwell.

I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended, undeniably, with clamour and scandal upon my most wary deportment."

The account of this appointment gave general satisfaction in Ireland to all respectable persons who were not deeply connected with the movements of the more violent parties. All whose desires were confined to justice, or who felt confidence in the equity of their claims, were satisfied that no zeal of political feeling would interfere with the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: an advantage then not likely to be realized in any other person. Minds of an inferior stamp would be expected to act more decidedly from party views: and persons wholly disinterested in Irish affairs were prejudiced against the Irish. In Dublin, public rejoicings followed the intelligence—the provost and fellows expressed their joy in a latin epistle; the houses of parliament and convocation did the same, by letters and addresses.

In the mean time, the discussion of the Irish settlement continued to be carried on with increasing perplexity and acrimony before the council. As it proceeded, it began soon to appear that the first design of the king's declaration could not be carried into operation, as it was made under a false assumption, that the lands at the king's disposal would suffice for the satisfaction of all admissible claims: but it presently appeared that the whole island would be insufficient, and it became an anxious question upon whom the loss should fall. The arguments which were advanced on either side need not be repeated here; some of them are obvious, and some but specious. But among these, one at least was unfortunate for the cause of the Irish party, who were by far the more violent in their entire conduct through this controversy; from pleas of right the parties went on to mutual accusations. The Irish advocates were thus unwittingly betrayed, not merely into offending powerful parties by whose influence the decision might readily be governed, but in fact they thus raised topics which every party in England was anxious and willing to forget, and of which the very discussion was calculated to awaken uneasy apprehensions in the king and his friends. The horrors and atrocities of the Irish rebellion were retorted with all the effect which their recent impression but too well favoured; and the various communications which had been made with the court of Rome became also a fatal weapon. In reply to several papers presented by the Irish committee, the commissioners of the Irish parliament sent in several writings of this prejudicial nature, and containing "instructions given by the supreme council of Ireland to the bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the court of Rome, bearing date, Jan. 18, 1667; a draught of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published in Jamestown." These papers were, by order of the committee, presented to the king and council, and the king was so violently incensed at their contents, that an order was entered, that "no petition or further address be made from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as to the bill of settlement, but that the bill for the act of settlement go on to be engrossed without any further delay, according as is already concluded; that Sir N. Plunket have notice given him, that his majesty's pleasure is, that he forbear to come into his presence and

appear at court any more; and that Mr Solicitor send all the provisos allowed of by the committee to be engrossed, and that the Irish make no more addresses, and that this be signified in letters to their friends in Ireland." Thus ended the debates in behalf of the Irish; and the bill, which had by these debates been long delayed, to the great uneasiness of the parliament of Ireland, was after the settling of some further provisos finished at last, and being sent over, passed the two houses at the latter end of May.

The Irish parliament appointed Sir T. Jones, Sir Paul Davies, Sir James Ware, Sir H. Tichburne and others, to attend the lords-justices, and request of them to prepare and transmit a bill for raising the sum of £30,000 for the Duke, on his accepting of the government, to demonstrate the sense of the kingdom, and in consideration of his "vast losses" in the service of Ireland. The duke's arrival in Ireland was deferred, on account of the approaching nuptials of the king with the Infanta of Portugal; a match against which the duke had strongly but vainly protested. His objections, together with those of the chancellor and the earl of Southampton, were listened to by the king in Tom Chiffin's closet, of which so graphic a sketch has been drawn by the pen of Scott.* They remonstrated with him, on the score of the religion of the princess, and the king replied, there were no protestant princesses fit for him to marry: it was replied that there were princesses enough in Germany, but the king answered in his lively style, "cod's fish, they are all foggy, and he could not like any of them for a wife;" upon this, says Carte, "the duke was satisfied that he would marry none but a Roman catholic."† To this Carte adds a curious story of the accident by which the duke had first discovered the secret of the king's religion. "The king had carefully concealed that change from the duke of Ormonde, who yet discovered it by accident. The duke had some suspicions of it from the time that they removed from Cologne into Flanders; for though he never observed that zeal and concern as to divine things which he often wished in the king, yet so much as appeared in him at any time looked that way. However, he thought it so very little that he hoped it would soon wear off upon returning to his kingdoms, and was not fully convinced of his change, till about the time the treaty of the Pyrenees was going to be opened. The duke was always a very early riser, and being then at Brussels, used to amuse himself at times that others were in bed, in walking about the town and seeing the churches. Going one morning very early by a church, where a great number of persons were at their devotions, he stepped in; and advancing near the altar, he saw the king on his knees at mass. He readily imagined his majesty would not be pleased that he should see him there, and therefore retired as cautiously as he could, went to a different part of the church, near another altar, where nobody was, knelt down, and said his own prayers till the king was gone." At the period of this occurrence, considerable anxiety prevailed among the king's friends on the subject of his religion: some were of opinion that his open conformity to the church of Rome would have the advantageous effect

* Peveril of the Peak.

† Carte, ii. 154.

of obtaining for him the sincere assistance of the Roman catholic courts: while others, among whom was the duke, with more sagacity saw that such a step would entirely put an end to all his hopes. Some therefore urged him to declare himself, while others who would not even appear to think it possible that he had turned to the Roman church, yet endeavoured to counteract them by wiser counsel. The king was himself indifferent to all creeds, further than as they could be moulded to the shape of his inclinations, and with the ordinary mixture of ingenuity and flippancy which composes the character of the latitudinarian's intellect, had a convenient creed of his own: in a word, he amused himself by the assumption, that God must be so merciful as to forgive the most direct disobedience of the whole letter and spirit of his positive laws, and that he might therefore freely indulge the inclinations of a most abandoned and profligate nature, provided he exercised an occasional private devotion, which must of course have been a strange compound of mockeries and contradictions. The duke, who had kept the secret of his change of persuasion until after the restoration, then communicated it to the earl of Southampton, and they considered how they might best prevent any of the consequences which were to be apprehended. For this purpose they contrived to have a clause inserted in the act, that was passed for the security of the king's person and government, making it a *premunire* for any one to say the "king was a papist."

The duke was long detained from his duties in Ireland, by those of his office of lord-steward, which required that he should meet the queen on her landing at Portsmouth, and after by the arrangements and ceremonies attendant upon the royal marriage, so that the summer was far advanced when he was at liberty to depart for Ireland. The numerous company of Irish nobility and gentry which had been drawn to London in prosecution of their claims, accompanied him, and formed a train of splendour never before or since approached in the journey of a lieutenant to his government: and his reception in Dublin, no less remarkable for its magnificence than for the public enthusiasm it called forth, is called "an epitome of the restoration" by Carte.

The act of settlement now passed, and was accompanied by a long speech from the Duke, who expounded its provisions with their reason or necessity in such a manner as to place every thing in the most conciliatory aspect. His speech was printed by order of the house. The recess followed and he went to Kilkenny, where his daughter, lady Mary Butler, was married in October to lord Cavendish.

Notwithstanding the anxious precautions and explanations of the duke, the act of settlement gave very general, and in many respects justifiable discontent. Among those whose complaints were most grounded in real wrong, were the officers called the forty-nine men, who had loyally and strenuously served the king against the rebels on every side, without ever having received any pay, and whose arrears were unquestionably the prior claim on both the justice and gratitude of the king; but so numerous and so large were the grants into which he had been inadvertently led, that there were not in fact means over and above the restorations which justice demanded, and those iniquitous appropriations. Among these, the earl of Leicester

whose service had been but nominal, contrived to have £50,000 under the claim of arrears, charged upon the security of the lands for the purpose of arrears, and Sir W. Petty, obtained large grants of the same lands. So great indeed and so unquestionable was the injustice done to this meritorious and suffering class of claimants, that a bill was brought in to provide for their security.

The duke was doomed on the present, as on the former occasion, and as indeed through every stage of his life, to suffer by his own excessive disinterestedness, and by a public spirit which appears to have set aside all private considerations. Among his first acts, the most urgent and essential was the purgation of the army, from the dregs of the republican and fanatic spirit which rendered it less available for the immediate service. To effect this, money to a large amount was necessary; but from the circumstances already explained, it will be understood, that of money there was no provision and but little prospect. The duke met the emergency, as in former times, by a large disbursement from his private estate—at a time when others were endeavouring to secure whatever could be grasped by any effort. The necessity appears not indeed to have been slight for this step; for, not to speak of the rumours of meditated insurrection in Ireland, for which little spirit remained, there was a strong party in England, still hostile to the restoration, and willing, should they find means, to raise a popular insurrection. These, and not without reason, boasted of having 8000 men in the Irish army ready to join in the attempt to throw off the present royal family, and declare a commonwealth: a design favoured by the discontents which the act of uniformity caused among the puritans, whose clergy generally declared, that they would resign their benefices, sooner than conform—a declaration to which they for the most part adhered. We shall notice these particulars in a future stage.

The commissioners appointed for the execution of the settlement, having been objected to on the fair ground that they were parties concerned, another commission was appointed, of competent English lawyers and gentlemen having no interest in Ireland. Their awards were too impartial to please a large portion of the claimants, which comprised chiefly these adventurers and soldiers whose claims were either founded on usurpation, or upon their service under the commonwealth. The first cases disposed of were those of the Irish, who had been undeservedly dispossessed of their estates: on this claim the numbers who came forward and made good their claims, by proving their innocence, was great beyond the expectations or the wish of the adventurers, who became discontented and alarmed, and in consequence soon began to express their complaints, and plot resistance. Many of Cromwell's officers conspired to effect an armed rising, and appointed a committee for its direction: among the officers appointed upon this committee, one (a Mr T. Alden,) disclosed the secret through his friend colonel Vernon, and by the same channel gave intelligence from time to time of their proceedings. Among the conspirators were some officers who conceived the notion of surprising the castle; Mr Alden gave warning of their intention, but mentioned a time farther off than afterwards turned out to be the time actually fixed; as captain Hulet and lieutenant Turet, who had probably at first fixed

upon the 9th or 10th of March, according to the information, saw reasons to expedite their design. On the 5th of that month, a company was to mount guard, among whom they reckoned on fifty men, and a sergeant: they also contrived to obtain arms and powder from the store, by practising upon the simplicity or knavery of the store-keeper's boy, and made up their minds to attempt the castle on that night by the gate that opens towards Ship street. Alden learned this change of purpose on the very day; but as colonel Vernon was out of the way, he found no means to convey his intelligence to the duke of Ormonde. Fortunately, the duke had himself received notice the day before, from a person named Hopkins, whom Turet had engaged to join. Such preparations were made as could not have failed to repel the attempt, but the conspirators themselves were apprised of the discovery of their design and made no attack. Some of them fled for their lives, and others were taken; but their information was unsatisfactory, as they were not persons who had been trusted by the leading conspirators.

Among the troublesome occurrences of this period of the duke's life, not the least was caused by the exhibition of the same refractory spirit in the House of Commons. An address was presented to him, in which this branch of parliament embodied the complaints of the adventurers and Cromwellians. They complained of the liberal and strictly equitable proceedings of the commissioners, and proposed a new method of conducting the cases, which would soon have restored the griping and corrupt decisions of the parliamentary courts. In the cases which came usually before the court, the plaintiff was the person whose innocence was to be proved, and the defendant he who was actually in possession of his lands. They now proposed that the king should be a party, and no decision made before the attorney-general should have been heard against the plaintiff. To this absurd and anomalous expedient, it was in addition proposed, that the cases should be tried by juries, so described, as in effect to give the decision to the persons most interested, either by claim or party. Other regulations respecting the nature of the evidence, and others limiting the lands and the claims, were proposed, and to the whole was tacked the false proposition, that the maintenance of the Protestant religion was dependent on the adoption of such proposals. The duke saw the injustice of these arrangements and was also much vexed and disgusted by the insidiousness and fallacy of this attempt to connect the church, which it was his main policy and desire to maintain, with such flagitious demands. The duke received their address coldly, and told them it should be taken into consideration. They were dissatisfied with this reply, and caused Sir A. Mervyn's speech, in which the address had been moved, to be printed. The king caused the printer to be taken up, and expressed his disapprobation in strong terms: and the duke wrote a letter to the parliament, in which he forcibly exposed the folly and mischief of their proceedings. They had, he represented, suggested the dangerous notion, that the protestant interest was in danger, in consequence of which many respectable protestants had received an alarm highly pernicious to that interest, as it both prevented English protestants from looking for settlements in Ireland, and caused many to sell at low rates the estates they had.

He explained to them the truth so obvious, and yet seemingly so hardly received, that the country only wanted peace to ensure the growth of universal prosperity: while the rights and interests of every class must suffer by the perpetuation of disunion and discontent. The commons retracted their proceeding, declared their abhorrence of the recent plot, acknowledged the lord-lieutenant's great care and vigilance in defeating it, and pledged themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of the royal authority.

Notwithstanding the check which it thus received, the main conspiracy went on with unremitting activity. The time of insurrection was fixed for May 25th, when the castles of Dublin, Drogheda, Derry, and other places of strength, were by simultaneous movements to be seized. There were meetings and consultations in Dublin and several parts of the country, to ensure the means and regulate the proceedings: several members of parliament, lawyers and military officers, were engaged in the undertaking, among whom the most active were a presbyterian minister, named Lackie, and a person of the name of Blood, who passed frequently into Scotland, under the hope of drawing the Scotch into the rebellion. Sir A. Forbes was sent down into the north, and soon succeeded in obtaining extensive intelligence of their proceedings, which were disconcerted by the arrest of major Staples, who had charge of the execution of the plan which they had concerted for the seizure of the towns. On the arrest of Staples, the greater part of the northern conspirators fled into Scotland.

In Munster the proceedings of the conspiracy were scarcely less active. A short extract will convey in the briefest form a view of the hopes, designs, and dependency of the persons engaged in it. Carte represents one of these, colonel Jephson, as explaining to Sir Theophilus Jones, whom he was anxious to gain to the party, "that they did not want an army, for there were 15,000 Scots excommunicated by the bishops in the north, who were ready within two days, and they doubted not but their own army would join them; that they had a bank of money in Dublin, sufficient to pay off all the arrears of the army, both in Oliver's time, and since the king's return, but he could not tell from whence it came, unless from Holland; that he had seen three or four firkins of it carried into Mr Boyd's house, and he could himself command £500 out of that bank the next day; that they had a wise council of considerable persons, such as would not be readily guessed at, who managed the business, and any body who should see the scheme, which was particularly set down in writing, would be convinced of its exactness; that Mr Roberts, who was auditor under Cromwell, had been for two months casting up the arrears of the army, and had now perfected the account, so that it was known what was due to every one, and such as would join them should be paid off everywhere; that there were 1000 horse in Dublin for securing the city, and Henry Ingolsby was to appear with them as soon as the castle was taken, and a flag put up, of which they no way doubted; that they intended to offer no violence to any but such as opposed them; that the duke of Ormonde's person was to be seized, but to be civilly treated; that several other persons were to be secured, and par-

ticularly he himself was to seize the earl of Clancarty, and colonel Fitz-Patrick; that every party had their particular orders to surprise each of the guards of the city; that one MacCormack was a great person in the action, and there were six ministers that went about Dublin in perukes, but laid them by when they were at prayers, and these were to be in the streets, to see that no plunder or disorder should be committed; that they had a declaration, of which many thousand copies were printed, ready to be dispersed, declaring that their undertaking was for securing the English interest, and the three kingdoms which were going to ruin by the countenance given to popery; that all the English should enjoy such estates as they possessed on 1st May, 1659; that religion should be settled according to the solemn league and covenant." He added, "that they would overturn the three kingdoms, and that the word which was to be given on the taking of the castle was, '*For the king and English interest.*'"* Jones, without the loss of a moment, wrote down the heads of this conversation, which he disclosed next day to the duke.

The plan for the surprise of Dublin castle was one which, without some previous warning, would most probably have succeeded. Several persons were to loiter into the castle yard, separately, as having petitions, or on some other fair pretence, while eighty foot soldiers, disguised as mechanics and trades' people, were to remain outside, dispersed in different small groups, or with the appearance of idle loiterers, so as not to attract notice, until they should receive the signal concerted: this was to be given by a baker carrying a large basket of bread, who was to stumble in the gateway: it was supposed that the guards in the gateway would immediately scramble for the bread, and thus offer a full opportunity for the disguised assailants to force their way in before the nature of their proceedings could be suspected. Within twelve hours of the time appointed for this exploit, the chief conspirators were all arrested by orders from the duke of Ormonde; and the few of less importance who escaped, were actively searched for. Among these latter, the most remarkable was Blood, the most daring, unscrupulous, and active of all the conspirators; this desperado found shelter for a time in Antrim, and afterwards among the mountains of Ulster, where he pretended to be a priest. From thence he reached the county of Wicklow, where he lurked for a while, and under various names and disguises, travelled through the kingdom, endeavouring to reunite and revive the conspiracy. He expressed himself strongly on the advantage they would gain if the duke of Ormonde should be slain, asserting that his death would be of more importance than the possession of the castle of Dublin; and the impression soon became very much diffused that he would himself be very likely to assassinate the duke.†

The duke was very anxious to treat his prisoners with lenity, and a few who frankly acknowledged their guilt, he pardoned: but a notion had circulated, that conspiring to levy war was not treason, unless pursued into overt acts of rebellion; and it was felt to be essential to

* Carte, II. 267.

† Carte.

the peace of the kingdom, that this dangerous delusion should be removed by some examples. Bills were found against five of the prisoners, who were tried and found guilty, upon the evidence of several, most of whom had been engaged in the same conspiracy. These persons were executed.

The people of Ireland were in every quarter deeply anxious for quiet, there existed among them not the slightest tendency to disaffected feeling: and there was moreover a sincere and universal sense of affection and respect for the duke of Ormonde diffused among every class, with the slight yet dangerous exception of the remains of the republican party. This, most unhappily indeed, still composed the chief material of the army in both countries. The duke was anxious to adopt the only direct remedy, which was the purgation of the army; but money was wanting, and he was thus involved in great embarrassments. He made a progress into Ulster, by his presence to awe the disaffected, revive loyal feelings, and give confidence to the apprehensions of the peaceable; and felt himself also under the necessity of employing agents to watch the proceedings of those parties who were suspected of any dangerous design.

Among the embarrassments to which the duke was at this period subject, not the least perplexing or eventually pernicious to his personal interest, arose from the enmities excited by his straight and unswerving integrity in the employment of his patronage. The courtiers of Charles, who grasped at every office of emolument or trust, resented the refusals of the duke to mix himself in their low intrigues for preferment, and his disposal of the commands under his own appointment, to individuals whose claims were those only of fair and meritorious service. Among the enemies which he thus made for himself, the most conspicuous for talent, station, and court favour, was Sir H. Bennet, who had first to no purpose endeavoured to draw the duke into a cabal to make him secretary of state. While he was digesting his discontent at the duke's neutrality in this affair, the death of lord Falkland left a troop of horse at the disposal of the duke, and it was applied for by Bennet, for his brother, who had never been in Ireland. The king expressed great anxiety that the duke should take the opportunity thus afforded of conciliating Bennet: but the duke gave the troop to lord Callan, whose claim was that of long and active service. He had already refused it to his own son, the lord John Butler, and wrote to his friend, Daniel O'Neile, at the English court, a letter on the subject, in which among other things he says—"I think I told him (I am sure I might have done it truly) that many who had been deservedly officers of the field amongst the horse, and some colonels, were, with great industry and earnestness, desiring to be lieutenants of horse, and that he who was lieutenant of that (Sir T. Armstrong's) troop, had long, faithfully, and stoutly, served as major of horse. Figure to yourself how he and the rest would take it, to have a man never heard of, and who never was more than a captain of foot, made captain of horse over their heads; and then consider, if my part be not hard, that must lose a friendship, because I will not countenance so disobliging a pretension; and all the while, what is my con-

cernment or advantage, but the discharge of my duty? If Mr Secretary's brother were near upon a level with other pretenders, and I should not supply what were wanting in consideration of him, he had reason to reproach me with want of friendship; but sure it will be hard to live well with him, if the frankness of my proceeding with him shall be esteemed injurious, to be remembered upon all occasions, and retributed by crossing my desires, when they aim at just things, and such as tend to the king's service."

The countess of Castlemaine—whose unworthy interest with the libertine king gave her a power which fortunately she had not understanding to exert as perniciously as she might—contrived to obtain a letter for passing to herself a grant of the Phoenix Park and Lodge. The duke refused to pass the warrant, and stopped the grant. By a strong remonstrance he changed the king's purpose, and persuaded him to enlarge the park by a purchase of 450 acres, and assign the house for the accommodation of the lords-lieutenant of Ireland. When the duke next visited England, the lady who was thus disappointed, assailed him at court with torrents of the most pestiferous abuse, and concluded by expressing her hope to see him hanged: the duke listened to her invective without showing any appearance of concern, and in reply to the concluding compliment, told her, that he "did not feel the same wish to put an end to her days, and only wished he might live to see her an old woman."

Another remarkable instance in which the duke drew upon himself a heavy discharge of court enmity, was the case of the marquess of Antrim; but the particulars would demand far more space than we can here afford. This marquess was making suit at court for the restoration of his large estates which were forfeited in the recent rebellion, and in the hands of adventurers. The queen mother was his zealous friend, and determined to support his suit. The interest of the duke was looked for, or at least the weight of his sanction was thought a necessary corroboration of such a claim. The duke was reluctant to oppose the queen, or to take upon himself the invidious office of pressing the unworthiness of the marquess; yet it was still more repugnant to his sense of honour to be brought into a court intrigue for the perversion of justice, and he represented that their object could be easily effected without his mediation, which he could not offer without compromising his regard for truth. He was charged by the marquess' friends with enmity, and by his own enemies it was imputed to him, that he was privately using his influence in favour of the marquess, though he publicly affected to oppose him. The duke defended himself from both of these charges; an extract from his letter to a friend, expressing his own sentiment, is the most we can here afford to add upon the subject:—"I am still really persuaded of my lord St Alban's friendship to me, and that belief receives no abatement by his endeavours for the saving of my lord Antrim's estate. For it were as unreasonable to expect a friend should think always as I do, as that he should have the same voice, or coloured beard. I confess I cannot find any obligation, that was upon the late king, or that is upon this, to do extraordinary things for my lord of Antrim; and I am sure there neither were nor

are any upon me, but the queen mother's commands, and my lord St Alban's interposition, upon both which I set the value I ought. In this particular, and in that of the bill,* people take me to be more concerned than I am. They know me not, and traduce me that say I interiously wish his restitution; and that though publicly I oppose it, yet privately I assist him. On the other side they as much mistake me, that believe I affect his ruin, and an enmity with him. The first were unchristian, and the other a very pitiable ambition. I have been civil, as I ought to be, to his lady, when she made applications to me; and this must be taken for helping her lord. In my dispatches I have freely spoken truth concerning him and his business; and that is taken for hatred of him; but neither truly. My lord chancellor Bacon says in one of his essays, that there are men will set their houses on fire to roast their eggs. They are dangerous cattle, if they can disguise themselves under plausible pretences. I have done all I conceive belongs to me to do in the business of my lord Antrim. I cannot unsay what I have said in it till I am convinced of error: but if I be asked no more questions about him, I can and will hold my peace."

The act of settlement was unattended by the expected result, and only gave rise to endless clamour and litigation. An explanation bill was ordered to be prepared, and was rejected by the king, who referred the subject to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and his council, to whom he gave orders to frame a new bill, so as to give the utmost attainable satisfaction to all who had any reasonable claim. The duke proceeded with his characteristic impartiality and caution, excluding the expectations of those who might not unreasonably have looked upon him as the head of their party, and only contemplating the claims of justice limited by the consideration of what was practicable and expedient for the general welfare of the country. It was endeavoured to secure the "forty-nine" officers—to lower the claims of adventurers—and to increase the fund for the redress of those whom the late court of claims had left unprovided for. A new bill on these principles was framed and transmitted; the several parties interested once more sent their advocates to London; and the presence of the duke being considered necessary, he committed the government to lord Ossory and also went over.

On his arrival, an order of council was made, that he should call to his aid such of the Irish privy council as were in London, with the commissioners for claims, &c., and with them carefully review the deliberations which had been entered into on Irish affairs, and advise what corrections or additions should appear expedient and just. This council met in August, and so considerable was the mass of papers, and representations, and petitions, of parties concerned, which they had to investigate, that their task was not ended till 26th May following. The several parties concerned made their proposals, in which, while all seem to have taken for a basis the same general view of their respective rights, each still proposed such an adjustment as best appeared to favour their separate demands: the main proposers were the Roman catholics, the soldiers and adventurers; and in looking closely into the

* The bill of explanation then transmitted into England.

detailed statement of their proposals, we are not prepared to assert that there was not on every side manifested as much fairness and regard to the fair claims of the others, as can be expected in every case of human opposition.* The contention was decided by the offer of the Roman catholics, who proposed that if the soldiers and adventurers would consent to part with one-third of the lands respectively enjoyed by them, on the claim of adventures and service on May 7, 1659, they were ready to agree to their general proposal. The proposal was accepted by all parties, and on the 18th May, 1665, in conformity with this general consent, it was ordered, "that the adventurers and soldiers should have two-thirds of the lands whereof they stood possessed, on May 7, 1659; that the Connaught purchasers should have two-thirds of what was in their possession, in September, 1663; that what any person wanted of his two-thirds should be supplied, and whatever he had more should be taken from him; and the adventurers and soldiers should make their election where the overplus should be retrenched, and the forty-nine men should be entirely established in their present possessions."† On these resolutions the act was drawn up. The last step was the addition of a list of twenty nominees, whom the king was by name to restore to their estates. For this the lord-lieutenant presented several lists of persons held worthy of the king's favour by the earl of Clancarty, earl of Athenry, &c., &c. The king referred these back to the lord-lieutenant to select twenty such names as might seem to him most fit for that preference—an invidious and disagreeable task to be performed against the following day. The duke made out his list, and though none of the names were objected against, there was much complaint among the numerous persons who thought it a hardship to be omitted. Among these, Sir Patrick Barnewall alone had some reason for complaint, his claim having been such, that his name was only left out, on the assurance that he would otherwise be restored. He was undoubtedly "an innocent," but the court of claims had first postponed the hearing of his case, and then by the explanatory act, all claims were taken away from those whom that court had not declared innocent: thus, by a concurrence of errors, a grievous injustice was committed. He now applied to the duke, who made so strong a representation to the king that he received a considerable pension for life.

But the greatest sufferer by these arrangements was the duke himself, on whom the main weight of perplexity of Irish affairs always rested. With all his great ability as a statesman, he was utterly devoid of a prudent concern for his own affairs, and showed an improvidence in the care of his estate, and a readiness to abandon his own rights quite unparalleled in modern history. To supply the great deficiency of lands and the delay of ascertaining the extent of forfeiture, which perplexed the settlement, the duke consented to abandon large tracts of his property. The proposal was made that he should accept £5000 a-year in lieu of the whole of the forfeited parts of his estate: this offer was strongly objected to by Mr Walsh, his agent, on the ground that the lands were worth five times the sum: but the duke was reluctant to allow any delay of the settlement resulting from any demur

* See Carte, II. 303.

† Carte.

on his part, and consented. This was not all,—for besides making this extraordinary sacrifice, a sum of £50,000, amounting not quite to double the annual rental of the property thus resigned, was secured to the duke, who allotted it for the payment of debts, chiefly incurred for the interests of the kingdom. Of these, the more considerable part of the securities, which had by forfeiture fallen to the crown, had been restored to the duke in reward of his services—with a stretch of generosity far beyond the ordinary conduct of the noblest men, the duke immediately wrote to Mr Walsh to pay off the whole. Such is but a cursory sketch of the history of these great and singular acts of disinterestedness, which seem to have made so little just impression upon the heated factions and unprincipled court-parties of his time. The neglect is indeed but seeming; for in the midst of all the injustice and rancour of those to whom the duke refused to be subservient, or the discontent of those whom it was impossible to content, the respect for his disinterestedness and integrity was universal. Nothing indeed more remarkably attests the truth of this than the style of censure adopted by those historians (for the most part recent,) whose political opinions incapacitate them from comprehending his real motives of actions. A tone of disparaging and captious insinuation wholly unsupported by even an attempt at direct statement, meets the careless reader and appeals to his prejudices, or conveys those of the writer, in some indirect form of language, hinting wrong motives for right acts, or a construction of intentions diametrically at variance with every plain indication both of conduct and profession; so that all the censures implied are uniformly in opposition to all the writer's facts. Such indeed is the proud test which history affords of the merits of this great statesman and still greater man: praise may be partial, but when the utmost reach of hostility can only extract material for a little timid inconsistency of language out of the history of a nobleman who stemmed the torrent of every faction, and attracted all the hostility of the rebels, the fanatics, and the unprincipled intriguers on every side; it surely speaks more for the duke than the language of panegyric can say.

The bill of explanation was next to be carried through the Irish parliament, a proceeding in which much difficulty was to be expected from the high and exclusive temper of that body, mainly composed of the adventurers, and generally of those parties which were in possession of titles to property which was liable to be rendered questionable by the bill. The duke left London, to prepare for this important affair: he was compelled to remain for some time in Bristol, to compose the disorders which had risen to a dangerous height in that city; and having succeeded in restoring quiet to the citizens, he passed over from Milford Haven, and landed at Duncannon fort, from which he proceeded to Kilkenny. The parliament was judiciously prorogued until the 26th October, to leave time for bringing round the more interested of the members, of whom the greater part were to lose a third of their claims: on the more moderate and public spirited of these the duke might hope to prevail, and lord Orrery was popular among the more violent, with whom he engaged to use his influence.

In the mean time the duke made his entry into Dublin, in a state of magnificence far surpassing any thing known in that city before,

or long after, till the visit of George the Fourth. All that the taste and wealth of the age could devise of magnificent and gorgeous was lavished to swell the solemnity of the scene, and do honour to one who had deserved so much, and from whom so much was yet looked for. Sir Daniel Bellingham, the first lord mayor of Dublin,* exerted himself to give effect and direction to the zeal of every class. The particulars may interest many readers, we therefore add them here in the words of Carte: "When his Grace was advanced within six miles of the place, he was met by a gallant train of young gentlemen, well mounted, and alike richly attired; their habits of a kind of ash-colour, trimmed with scarlet and silver, all in white scarfs, and commanded by one Mr Corker, a deserving gentleman, employed in his majesty's revenue, with other officers to complete the troop, which marched in excellent order to the bounds of the city liberty, where they left his Grace to be received by the sheriffs of the city who were attended by the corporations in their stations; after the sheriffs had entertained his Grace with a short speech, the citizens marched next; and after the maiden troop, next to that his Grace's gentlemen; and then his kettle drums and trumpets; after them the sheriffs of the city, bare-headed, then the sergeants-at-arms and their pursuivants; and in the next place followed his Grace, accompanied by the nobility and privy councillors of the kingdom; after them the lifeguard of horse. Within St James's gate his Grace was entertained by the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal members of the city on the right hand, and on the left stood six gladiators, stript, and drawn; next them his Grace's guard of battle-axes; before them his Majesty's company of the royal regiment; the rest of the companies making a guard to the castle. The king's company marched next; after the citizens; then the battle-axes; and thus through a wonderful throng of people, till they came to the conduit in the corn market, whence wine ran in abundance. At the new hall was erected a scaffold, on which were placed half-a-dozen anticks; by the tollsel was erected another scaffold, whereupon was represented Ceres under a Canopy, attended by four virgins. At the end of Castle street a third scaffold was erected, on which stood Vulcan by his anvil, with four Cyclops asleep by it. And the last scaffold was raised at the entrance into the castle gate, whereupon stood Bacchus, with four or five good fellows. In fine, the whole ceremony was performed, both upon the point of order and affection, to his Grace's exceeding satisfaction, who was at last welcomed in the castle with great and small shot; and so soon as the streets could be cleared of coaches, (which was a good while first, for they were very many,) the streets and the air were filled with fire-works, which were very well managed to complete the entertainment."

It will not be necessary to go at length into the means which were taken by the duke to carry the bill, against which there was entertained in parliament so much personal reluctance. To impress them with feelings of a more favourable kind, he first employed them for sixteen days in a most apprehensive investigation on the recent insurrection, in which several of their members had been implicated, and many could

* Carte, II. 313.

not avoid feeling the danger of being involved. The effect was salutary, and they soon began to manifest a tone of mind more submissive and favourable to that sacrifice of personal interests which the peace of the kingdom demanded. And thus by considerable address, and the seasonable interposition of topics, adapted to work on their fears, the bill was passed with little demur, and received the royal assent on December 23, 1665. Five commissioners were appointed to carry it into operation, with a constant appeal to the duke in cases of difficulty. The discharge of this important duty continued for many years to load him with embarrassments and vexations: and the more so as it was his continual duty to interfere for the purpose of preventing the alienation of the lands allotted for the purposes of the act, to influential parties who obtained private grants from the crown. Such grants he steadily set aside, and thus created for himself innumerable private enemies, dangerous from their influence and want of principle.

In 1663, the country gentlemen of England had been distressed by a general fall in the price of cattle, and a consequent difficulty in obtaining their rents. This they attributed to the importation of Irish and Scotch cattle and sheep, which on inquiry was found to be very considerable: the average importation from Ireland alone having been for many years sixty-one thousand head of black cattle. The House of Commons had in consequence ordered a bill to prohibit this importation. This bill passed quickly through the Commons. The measure had been carried with an anxious eagerness through the Commons, and with a view to evade opposition, had in fact been smuggled through as a clause in an "*act for the encouragement of trade*;" so that the duke of Ormonde only received an intimation upon the subject while it was passing through the upper house, and sent over the earl of Anglesey to protest against it in his name, and that of the Irish council. The act passed, and the destructive consequences were soon felt in Ireland. The council of trade, formed by the duke in Ireland, met to remonstrate upon this grievance: it was composed of numerous gentlemen of fortune, and of the principal merchants; from this body a strong remonstrance was transmitted to England. They represented the disastrous consequences of such a prohibition to Irish property, of which it so entirely destroyed the value, that all the farmers would be under the necessity of throwing up their leases. They pointed out the destructive effects which must also be sustained by his majesty's customs, so that the expense of the Irish army and civil list would be necessarily either wanting, to the total ruin of the kingdom, or to be defrayed by large remittances from England. They also shewed the injury which would be inflicted upon London, by a law which would withdraw the whole Irish trade from that city; as the entire stock of wines, clothes, and mostly all manufactured goods, for the use of the Irish nobility and gentry, were purchased there on a half-yearly credit, maintained by the returns of the Irish produce sold in England. They showed the suffering and inconvenience likely to ensue among the trading towns in England, by the rise of the prices of beef and mutton, and the consequent rise of wages. And further pointed out the serious injury to be sustained by the shipping interests on the

western coast, chiefly maintained by the cattle and coal trade between the two countries. Their remonstrance was transmitted by the earl of Ossory and the Irish council, to the duke of Ormonde then in England on the business of the settlement. The duke enforced their arguments with others derived from a more enlarged view of the political state of Europe at the time. Having strongly dwelt upon the unseasonableness of such an act, at a moment when Ireland had recently emerged from ten years of destructive civil war which had almost annihilated all her vital powers, he showed that by some law, or by the operation of some circumstance, every other resource was either cut off or reduced to little more than nominal: with Holland there was war; with France war was impending; the *act for the encouragement of trade*, shut them out from America; an English monopoly from the Canary Islands. He also repeated with strong additional weight, the forcible and home argument of the great loss which the revenue must sustain. He showed that the English fattening lands, which were mostly stocked from Ireland, must thus become a monopoly to the breeders of cattle. He exposed the arguments on the opposite side, and asserted that the consequences of which they complained were not attributable to the importation of Irish cattle; he observed the manifest absurdity of attributing the loss of £200,000, said to be sustained by English landlords to the importation of cattle to the amount of £140,000 from Ireland. He said that the recent revival of Lent in England must have diminished the consumption; the drought of the last summers must have hurt the farmers, the drain of emigration, the ravage of the plague, the stoppage of trade by the war with Holland. To all these reasons he added, that no such complaints had been heard of till recently, though the Irish cattle trade had been of old standing and had been much more considerable before the civil wars. Finally he brought forward many reasons to show that the injury thus done to Ireland must be eventually hurtful to England.

The king was convinced by these arguments, with many others which we have not noticed here: but he was himself dependent upon his commons, and had not the virtue or the firmness to oppose their narrow and selfish policy. The bill met with considerable opposition in the lords, where views of general policy were better understood, and considerations of national justice had more weight. There the earl of Castlehaven made a vigorous stand, and represented the great benefit which the commerce of Ireland had received under the sagacious and energetic care of the duke of Ormonde, "greater (he justly observed,) than it had experienced even from the earl of Strafford." His exposition converted many; but nothing better than delay was obtained. For the following three years the act continued to be the subject of the most violent party opposition and court manœuvre, and after being strenuously combated by the duke and his friends at every stage, and on every discussion, and feebly discountenanced by the king, it was at last, when the house of lords showed the strongest inclination to throw it out, carried through by the influence of the court and the interest of the duke of York. The effects were such as had been predicted by the duke of Ormonde and the friends of Ireland, but eventu-

ally turned out to the advantage of Ireland by turning the wealth and industry of the country into other channels, as we shall have to show further on.

During these proceedings, many troubles had occurred in Ireland, to engage the anxious attention of the duke. A party of forty plunderers, under the leaders Costello and Nangle, gave much trouble during the summer of 1666, but were in the end routed, and Nangle killed; after which Costello fled into Connaught, where, at the head of half-a-dozen desperadoes, he committed frightful havoc and plunder among the farm-houses and villages. At last lord Dillon, on whose estate he had committed the greatest depredations, sent out some armed parties of his own tenantry. Costello attacked one of these in the night, which he thought to surprise: he was however shot dead, and the whole of his gang cut to pieces. Thus ended an affair which but a few years before would have been a wide wasting insurrection. It clearly indicates the sense of the people, at this time pretty well experienced as to the real fruits of civil war.

Far more serious was a mutiny among the troops, of whom a large part were ill-disposed to the government, and all discontented at the irregularity of their pay, and the insufficiency of their maintenance. The duke received intelligence of a conspiracy, headed by colonel Phaire, captain Walcot, and other officers, to raise a general insurrection; and having sent full information to lord Orrery, who commanded in Munster, lord Orrery soon found means to seize a person from whom he learned that the conspiracy extended to England and Scotland, and that it was planned "to rise at once in all the three kingdoms; to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged; that measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old army, and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief; that they were to be assisted with forces, arms, and money, by the Dutch; and were to rise all in one night, and spare none that would not join in the design—which was to pull down the king with the house of lords, and instead of the bishops to set up a sober and painful ministry; that collections had been made of money to work upon the necessities of the soldiery, and they had already bought several men in different garrisons, and that particularly they had given large sums to soldiers (some of which he named,) that were upon the guard in the castles of Dublin and Limerick, for the seizing of those places, whenever they were ready to declare, which would be in a few weeks; that each officer engaged in the design had his particular province assigned him, and answered for a particular number of men, which he was to bring into the field."

The earl of Orrery, with the promptness which was natural to his active and energetic character, took the most effectual means to suppress so dangerous a spirit within his own jurisdiction. He communicated with all the officers, and established a strict system of vigilant observation over the actions and conversation of the soldiers. He proposed also to empower the officers to arrest all suspicious persons, and to seize their arms and horses; but to this the duke objected. "I confess," he writes to lord Orrery, "I am not willing to trust inferior officers, civil or military, with judging who are danger-

ous persons, and fit to be secured, and their horses taken from them, a thing seldom performed without a mixture of private ends, either of revenge or avarice; and I know not what could more induce or extenuate the crime of rebellion than the taking up of persons or their goods upon alarms or general suggestions.”*

The duke was fully aware at that moment that the mutinous spirit which had thus showed itself in the south, and still more the indications of a similar temper in the north, were but the premonitory signs of a more dangerous and general disorder. There was fermenting in Scotland an insurrectionary temper which had its branches in England and Ireland; and the duke considered these outbreaks among the northern garrisons the more to be dreaded on account of their vicinity to the Scottish coast. A mutiny in Carrickfergus, in April, was easily appeased without the necessity of any severe or coercive remedy; and the garrison, encouraged by the dangerous lenity which had been shown, again broke out more fiercely in May, when they seized upon the town and castle of Carrickfergus. The earl of Donegal endeavoured to treat with them, but they rejected his offers, the mildness of which only served to encourage their insubordination. The duke, on receiving intelligence of the circumstances, sent orders to the earl to make no further offers, as it was become essential to the peace of the kingdom that the mutineers should be made examples of to the disaffected throughout the army. He immediately sent off his son, the earl of Arran, with four companies of his guards, the only troops on whom he felt any reliance; and not content with this, he soon after set off himself for the north.

The earl of Arran had encountered rough weather, which drove him within a league of the Mull of Galloway; but the storm abating, he was enabled to get into the bay of Carrickfergus on the 27th, and at noon landed his men without opposition. He was joined by the earl of Donegal, and by the mayor who had made his escape. From the mayor he received the assurance that the townsmen were on the watch to favour him, and if he could beat the mutineers from the walls, a party would seize upon a gate and secure his admission. The mutineers formed their own plan, which was to plunder the town and shut themselves in the castle: to secure time for this they sent to demand time till four o'clock, to consider what they should propose. Lord Arran was however apprized of their design and demanded immediate entrance, and on being refused, he ordered a smart fire upon the walls. The garrison, seeing that no time was to be lost, instantly commenced their retreat into the castle, leaving what they considered a sufficient party to defend the walls. The earl of Arran soon forced his way, with the loss of two men slain at his side, while the leader of the mutineers, one Dillon, was slain in the pursuit as they fled towards the castle. There were 120 men in the castle, strongly fortified, and having provisions for a month: but wholly without officers. They became terrified at the regular preparations for an assault, and quickly offered to treat, but lord Arran sent them word that he could not offer them any terms, and they presently submitted at discretion.

* Carte, II. 325.

Nine of them, who had taken a leading part, were condemned to death, and the remainder sent to Dublin, from whence they were transported to the colonies. The duke broke the four companies in which the mutiny had arisen, and left two companies of his guards at Carrickfergus.

These disturbances, with the alarm of a French invasion, were in one respect useful, as they had the salutary effect of drawing £15,000 from the treasury, which enabled the duke to appease the violent and not unreasonable discontent of the army. He had long conceived a plan for the organization of a militia for the defence of the provinces. With this view he made a progress into the south, to fortify the coast against the menaced invasion. It had been reported that 20,000 men had assembled at Brest, under the duke of Beaufort, in readiness to embark for Ireland, and already many of their ships had been seen off Bantry Bay, Crookhaven, and other near roads. The duke was received by the nobility and gentry on the borders of their several counties on his way. He had already sent round his orders, and transmitted a supply of arms and accoutrements, and now reviewed the corps which were assembled for his orders, to the amount of two thousand foot and three thousand horse.

The duke's efforts for the benefit of Ireland were much impeded by the entire disregard which prevailed upon the subject in the English council and parliament; while the influence of the duke, which had in some measure tended to counteract this neglect was fast diminishing under the zealous animosity of the powerful faction of his enemy, Buckingham, seconded by all the most leading and influential persons of that intriguing and profligate court, the seat of all dishonour and corruption. There the duke was feared by the king and detested by the base and underplotting courtiers who surrounded him; and among their favourite aims, the principal was an unremitting cabal against one who could not be other than an enemy to all their wishes. No occasion was lost to thwart his measures, to defeat his proposals, to calumniate his conduct, and misrepresent his character: all this the king, whose defect was not that of just observation, saw; but he was too indolent and remiss, and too much alive to the influence of his worthless creatures, to resist being carried away by the falsehood and baseness which was the atmosphere in which he breathed; and the further he departed from the paths of discretion and prudence, the more he became impatient of the awe which the duke's character impressed, and anxious to throw it off. Such was the undercurrent which was steadily resisting and preventing the policy of the duke's administration in Ireland. The progress of the national prosperity, which must necessarily be dependent upon the growth of its resources, was arrested in its infancy, and just at the trying moment, when the country had emerged from the very jaws of ruin, by a most unprincipled and ignorant measure. The stagnation of trade was general; the blow received by the landed interest was but the propagation of the same stroke; and the duke, making efforts the most strenuous ever made by an Irish lord-lieutenant, and sacrifices far beyond any recorded in British history, was doomed to struggle vainly against the profligate indifference and corruption of the court, the ignorance of the English commons, the disaffection of the

army, and entire want of the necessary resources for the execution of the necessary duties of a governor.

Some great and permanent results could not fail to follow from the combination of so much wisdom and determination. Through good and ill report, through obstacles and hostility, the duke held on his steady and courageous course. He awakened a spirit of commercial concert and intelligence which was the nucleus of industry and future progress: he organized a better system of national defence: the spirit of the people was quieted and conciliated without the sacrifice of any principle. It was next the duke's great ambition to remedy the commercial injury which he had failed to prevent, by finding new channels for the industry and fertility of the country. Having received a memorial from Sir Peter Pett, on the manufacture of cloth, the duke resolved to give all the encouragement in his power to the proposal for the introduction of such a manufacture as might not only employ the industry of Ireland, but also under favourable circumstances, be the means of opening an advantageous foreign trade. He immediately set up an extensive manufactory of cloth in Clonmel, giving the undertakers long leases, in which he reserved "only an acknowledgment instead of rent," and employed captain Grant to engage five hundred Walloon protestant families about Canterbury to remove into Ireland, where he settled them to advantage.

Still more early and more successful were the duke's efforts for the re-establishment of the linen manufacture, first set on foot by lord Strafford, but totally arrested by the rebellion. On his first coming over, the duke sent competent persons into the Low Countries to make inquiries, and to ascertain all the best methods, as well as the laws and regulations, by which this trade was governed and promoted. He procured five hundred manufacturers from Brabant; and considerable numbers more from other places on the continent, known for their success in the linen trade. He built houses for numbers of these in Chapel Izod, where cordage, sail-cloth, and excellent linen began to be produced in abundance: at the head of this establishment he placed colonel Richard Lawrence, who also set up an extensive woollen manufactory. The duke planted another colony of manufacturers in his town of Carrick-on-Suir; and thus by great exertion and expenditure, was permanently established the greatest benefit Ireland ever received from the hand of any individual.

The heavy blow which had been inflicted upon Ireland by the prohibition act, produced its effect to the full extent that was anticipated by the duke. To relieve in some measure the great depression which it occasioned, there was little in his power—that little he performed. He purchased provisions for the government stores to the largest extent that was possible, and, in doing so, endeavoured to relieve the largest amount of distress. He also applied to the king to enlarge the commercial liberties of the Irish, by a free allowance to trade with such foreign ports as were not specially interdicted, such as the foreign plantations, appropriated by certain charters, or such as the East India, Turkey, and Canary companies. The Scotch having followed the example of England in prohibiting the importation of Irish produce, the Irish council was allowed to prohibit all importation of every article

of trade from Scotland, from which a large amount of goods had been annually imported to the great detriment of Irish manufacture. Even in the conduct of this transaction, a most miserable and paltry attempt was made by the duke of Buckingham's faction, to lay a snare for the duke of Ormonde, against whom they were at the time endeavouring to catch an impeachment. They proposed to the king, that no special allowance for the exportation of Irish wool should be inserted in the king's proclamation, but that "it would be best to let wools go out by licence, which his Grace would resolve of;"* by which, if the duke should inadvertently be led to give such unauthorized licence, he would become subject to be impeached upon a penal statute. The duke wrote to the earl of Anglesey, noticing the impossibility of his acting upon the mere understanding of the council, which not being matter of record, would easily be forgotten and present no justification for him. Against such a mode of effecting the pretended intentions of the council he remonstrated however in vain: no further notice was taken of the matter.

The duke of Buckingham was at the head of the duke of Ormonde's enemies at court. The cause of his enmity was the firm refusal of Ormonde to be concerned in the promotion of his plans, which were neither wise nor honourable. This refusal was the more resented, as the earl of Arran was married to the niece and heir-at-law to the duke of Buckingham, who had also made a will in her favour, which he cancelled upon being disoblged by the duke of Ormonde.

The increased profligacy of the English court at this time began to have its full effect in removing all sane council from the king, who fell entirely under the corrupt influence of advisers, who carried every point by the favour of his mistresses. The earl of Clarendon was the first victim of an infamous conspiracy, and having been impeached upon accusations so false that they were even without any specious foundation in fact, he was insidiously persuaded by the king† to leave the country, by which the malignity or the craft of his enemies, who merely desired to get him out of the way, was served. Clarendon was the fast friend of the duke of Ormonde, with whom he had no reserve, and his departure was therefore inauspicious for the duke's continuance in favour. "He seems," observes Carte, "to have fallen into the very mistake (which he remarks in the character of archbishop Laud,) of imagining that a man's own integrity will support him." A common error, itself the result of integrity which finds it difficult to conceive the length to which baseness can be carried. The earl of Clarendon was also the victim of the secret intrigues of Buckingham: there was an attempt made to conciliate the duke of Ormonde's assent to the sacrifice,‡ and the king wrote him a letter, in which he told him, "This is an arrangement too big for a letter; so that I will add but this word to assure you, that your former friendship to the chancellor shall not do you any prejudice with me, and, that I have not in the least degree diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you, which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you."

* Carte.

† Burnet.

‡ See a letter from lord Arlington to the duke, Carte, II. 352.

The earl of Clarendon retired into France, and an attempt to carry the proceedings to an attainder was defeated by the firmness of the House of Lords, always more slow to be warped to the purposes of either court-intrigue or popular faction, than the lower house, of which the mixed and uncertain composition has always rendered it the field of all the veering winds of influence from every quarter.

The same party which thus succeeded in removing the restraint of the earl of Clarendon's presence from the abandoned and profligate court of England, was as sedulously bent on getting the duke of Ormonde out of the way. Only anxious to watch over the sickly infancy of Irish prosperity, the duke took the utmost care to give no offence to any party of English politicians. But the duke of Buckingham was bent on the acquisition of the Lieutenantancy of Ireland, and the place of steward of the household: and about the middle of October, in the same year, (1672) they contrived to draw up articles of impeachment against the duke of Ormonde, of which Sir Heneage Finch obtained a copy and sent it to him. The duke, however, had not only been upright, but being of an observing, cautious, and sagacious temper, and fully aware of the character and designs of Buckingham, he had ever preserved a guarded conduct, and, as in the instance already seen, kept himself within the letter of authority. Of the twelve articles which composed the impeachment there were but two open even to any specious doubt against him: of these, one was the trial by martial law, of the soldiers who mutinied at Carrickfergus; the other related to the quartering of soldiers in Dublin contrary to the statute 18 Henry VI. These charges are evidently too futile to be here entered upon, so as to explain their absurdity. The statute was manifestly misinterpreted, and the practice of quartering troops in Dublin followed by every lord-lieutenant that had ever been there, without the least comment. As to the other articles, they manifested such utter ignorance, that the duke remarked, "that they were either put together by some friend of his, or by a very ignorant enemy:" as expressed in the articles, they were all entirely unfounded; and most of them, had they been true, were yet no offences; while others were impossible to have been committed. An attempt was at the same time made to support this attack by another, consisting of two petitions, both of which were thrown out by the House of Commons, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke of Buckingham and his party.

The mischief produced by these proceedings in Ireland was very considerable; a general sense was excited, that tortuous claimants might find strong support against the duke. The members of his government also, were so scared, that they hung back in the discharge of their duties, and shrunk from the responsibility attendant upon every exercise of the powers committed to them. The duke, with all his caution, shrunk from no legal exertion of his power, and was left to act alone, under circumstances of trying emergency. Among other things we find him at this time writing to lord Arlington:—"I have so much reason to fear this may be the aim of some, that for all I am threatened to be accused of treason, on account of giving warrants for the quartering of soldiers; yet I am so hopeful that I shall incur no such danger, and so apprehensive that, if the army should be much discour-

aged or lessened, treason and rebellion would soon show themselves, that I continue to give the usual warrants, and to compel obedience to be given to them; and so I shall do, if his majesty vouchsafe to give it his approbation!"

Irritated by defeat, and urged by the ambitious cupidity of the duke of Buckingham, the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were incessant in their attacks upon him, and it soon became evident to all intelligent observers, that the restless animosity, and the great court-influence of that party, which appeared determined on his fall, could not fail to injure him at last. The weakness and uncertainty of the king, who had no affections but for those who were subservient to his humours or inclinations, left no hope from his firmness or justice; and the duke of Ormonde received repeated letters from his friends in England, advising him to come over himself; among these, one warning alone had in some degree the effect of exciting a sense of danger. The earl of Anglesey, who was menaced with similar accusations, received an intimation that he should not be molested if he would lend his aid in the fabrication of an impeachment of the duke of Ormonde: the earl refused and laid the entire correspondence before the duke. Still more serious was a similar communication from lord Orrery. We shall enter more into the detail of this, both because it actually determined the movements of the duke, and because it is our opinion that lord Orrery was unjustly accused to the duke; though it is, at the same time, quite apparent that the conduct of lord Orrery was not at the same time such as to render the suspicion unfounded: and we have also little doubt in the belief that he was afterwards drawn into the intrigue of the duke's enemies.

The earl of Orrery having written to desire that the duke would give him a cypher, upon receiving this, wrote a letter to the duke, dated Nov. 13, 1667, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his excellency, communicating the articles of impeachment, and mentioning that he had been already aware of them, and adding, "and possibly that it was not without my service that you had them;" and making several comments, with which we shall not trouble the reader's attention. On November the 19th, the following letter in cypher came from the earl of Orrery to the duke:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

" November 19th, 1667.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Earl of Orrery

" A letter this day from a good hand tells 379,

Duke of Ormonde

that a ^c 31 ^h 12 ^a 29 ^r 21 ^g 11 ^e 57 against 378 is in the hands of
 Duke of Bucks Lord Ashley L i t t l e t o n
 118 and 112; that one 15 13 23 47 9 63 71 80 41
 is to 5 7 24 22 9 ^{a cc u s e} 378 in 170; and that the ^{a d v e n t u r e} 86 90 are to
 give the rise for it.

Duke of Ormonde

M e a t h e

" 378 will do well to be watchful over the earl of 16 33 29 23 12 9.

Earl of Orrery

" A friend this post writ to 379, that he saw the petition of the

adventurers 86 to the parliament 406, that the acts of 17 and 18 of the last king might be made good; that they have a great many friends in parliament 406; so that it is believed, most which has been done, will be undone, and what the consequences thereof will be, God only knows.

"A good hand tells me they will *push* hard at Lord Arlington 111; and some warm whispers there are of a letter Lord Arlington s e n t 325 which 111 25 21 13 23 in June, to Duke of Ormonde 378, of a strange nature, with which it is thought much ado will be made; and the Duke of Ormonde 378 will be upon his oath 733 846 about it, and Sir G. Lane 318, of which my friend says I should shortly hear more."

In the meantime the duke was strongly and repeatedly urged to go over to England. The earl of Orrery had also applied for a licence to leave his government, which he received. After which, the two following letters were written:—

To the Duke of Ormonde.

"Charleville, March 16, 1667.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I have even now by the post received the honour of your grace's letter of the 10th instant, from Thurles. I confess I was somewhat surprised when I read it; for your grace was pleased to say, by your collections from some late passages in affairs, and from the deportment of some who are understood to be my friends, and of others whom your grace is sure are my relations, some suspicions might be raised in a mind more liable to that passion than yours is, to the weakening your confidence in my profession to you.

"To which I humbly answer, that if any who are understood to be my friends, or who certainly are my relations, have misdeported themselves towards your grace, the least favour I could have expected was, either that I might have been acquainted with the names of the persons, or with their faults, that thereby I might have been capacitated to have made them sensible of, and sorry for them; or else that the miscarriages of others, neither whose persons or offences are told me, might not prejudice me in your grace's good opinion; for I never did undertake to your grace, that all who call themselves my friends, or who really are my relations, should act in all things towards your grace, no, not so much as towards myself, as I heartily wish they would do. And since I can neither command their doings or their inclinations, it would not be consonant to your grace's usual justice and goodness, to let one who is your servant suffer for the faults of those whom you judge are not your servants, and over whom I have no authority. I should not have thought my lord Clarendon over-just, if he should have contracted a jealousy at your grace, because my lord Arlington, who is your friend and ally, appeared against him. But this I profess to your grace, that if any who says he is my friend, or who is a relation of mine, has done, or shall do, any thing which is offensive to your

grace, and that I am acquainted with it, I will resent it at such a rate, as shall evidence to him, that whoever offends you does injure me.

“ And now, my lord, I must beg your pardon, if I should think that it is not consonant to those assurances you have been pleased to give me of your favour; and of never entertaining any thing to my prejudice, till first you had told me of it, and heard what I could say on it, to have made some collections from some late passages in affairs, (which had you been inclined to suspicion, might have raised in you,) that I was not so much your servant, as really I am, and yet never have told them to me till now, and now only in such general terms, as serves only to let me know I am obliged to your kindness, and not to my own innocence, if you do not misdoubt me. You are pleased to let me see your collections would have wounded me, but you are not pleased to allow me the means to cure myself, which my integrity would have done, had I particularly known those passages, which your grace only mentions in general. And although it is a happiness I much desire, to be so rooted in your grace's esteem, as to need only your esteem to maintain me in it; yet I confess, my lord, where I seem (at least) to be suspected, I would owe my vindication to your justice as much as to your favour. For since the insignificance of my condition is such, that I cannot by my services merit your esteem, I am covetous to evidence, that by no ill actions of mine I would forfeit it. I do therefore most humbly and earnestly beg of your grace, that I may minutely know those passages, through which, by your collections, I might be prejudiced in your opinion, that I may derive from my innocency, as much as from your grace's favour, and unaptness to entertain suspicions, my vindication. If I did not think myself guiltless, I would not thus humbly implore of your grace to descend to particulars. And if you think I am not, forgive me, I beseech you, if I say you are somewhat obliged not to deny it; since it is at my own request, that you make me appear such to myself.

“ I was in hope, since I had for above one year avoided intermeddling with any affairs but those of this province, that I had thereby put myself into no incapacity of being misunderstood by any considerable person, especially that I was below being suspected by your grace. But alas! I find, that to be held guiltless, a man must not only be innocent but fortunate too. The first depending on myself, it is my own fault if I do not attain to it; but the last depending wholly upon others, I can only say it is my trouble, but not my fault, that I must miss of it.

“ Give me leave, I beseech your grace, further to say that I have of late showed myself a true servant to you; and with this satisfaction (perhaps it may be thought vanity,) that none knows it, but those who I am sure will not tell you of it, for their own sakes. For I do not consider professions of friendship, as too many in this age do; I look upon them as the most binding temporal ties amongst men, and at such a rate I endeavour to keep them; and so I shall do those I have made to your grace, whatever misrepresentations may have been made of me. For whatever confidence your grace is pleased to have of me in the close of your letter, yet till that part of it, methinks the whole complexion of it is such, as I cannot but with real grief acknowledge,

I doubt your grace has received some impressions to my prejudice: and therefore I do not only humbly hope, but also beg that you will afford me a rise to clear myself, by telling me particularly what you take amiss at my hands; and then I shall not doubt but your grace will again believe me.

“May it please your Grace,

“Your Grace’s unalterable servant

“ORRERY.”

“If it be not too great a confidence, I would humbly beg that my lady duchess might see, whether in this letter I have begged any thing unfit for your grace to grant; for I am above expression, ambitious to continue right in her good opinion.”

To the Duke of Ormonde.

“Charleville, March 16, 1667.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“Above six hours after the post was gone from hence to Dublin, I received, by my lord Kingston’s favour, the honour of your grace’s letter of the 12th instant, for which, and for the leave which your grace is pleased to give me to go for London, with the great care you have condescended to take for my patent of licence; and for a warrant for one of his majesty’s ships to transport me, I pay your grace my most humble acknowledgments.

“But, my lord, how can I go for England, or indeed stay here, with any satisfaction, while the impressions of your grace’s letter to me of the 10th instant, from Thurles, are remaining in me? For they are such as I can scarce mind any thing, till I have vindicated myself from those suspicions; and therefore I have suspended my journey, till I have received the honour of your grace’s answer to my letter of the 13th instant. If the humble desires I have made to you in it be granted, (as I more than hope they will be, because they are just,) your grace will soon prove me faulty, or I shall soon prove I am not. If the first, I shall even in my own opinion judge myself unfit to serve this kingdom and your grace; if the last, then I shall be cheerfully ready to serve both, when I am instructed by your grace how to do it.

“There is no great doubt, but that a person of your eminency will have enemies, since one of so low a quality as I, am not, as I feel, without them; and whatever your grace’s may design against you, mine will not fail to represent them to you, as things which I promote, or at least am concurring in; and therefore I am the more confirmed not to stir, till I have fully cleared myself, because, while I am under your grace’s doubts, all misrepresentations of me may, with less difficulty, be received. And if while I lived a country life, and at a great distance even from the scenes of business, those who are not my friends, have had so much power by their suggestions, as to incline your grace to think it fit to write to me your letter of the 10th instant, what will they not be able to do when I am at London, if any who are not your grace’s servants should attempt to prejudice you, as some, I find by your grace’s letter, have already endeavoured to do?

“Possibly your grace may consider these as but speculations, and nice

ones too: but I, who am seriously concerned in what I write, and perfectly desirous, not only to keep myself innocent, but also to be esteemed so, and to avoid even the umbrages of suspicion, have judged the putting a stop to my journey, and what I have now written to be absolutely necessary. For I am the uneasiest person living to myself, while I am under the least jealousy of one, whom I truly love and honour, especially when I see I am in his suspicion: and yet the particulars on which his suspicion is grounded are not told me, nay when some of them cannot, by the strictest rules of justice, be equitably interpreted to my disadvantage.

"I know not whether those principles I act by in friendship be different from those of other men, but I never choose to make a man my friend whom I can suspect, or never suspect him till I tell him expressly every one of all the particulars on which my suspicion is built, that I may soon convince him of his fault or see my own.

"I most humbly beg your grace's pardon for the freedom of this letter, since it proceeds from the duty and respect I have for your grace; and for the cause's sake be pleased to excuse the effect.

"I look upon a trust as the greatest obligation to be trusty; and if I doubt my friend before proof, I should conclude I had wronged him.

"In the last place, I beseech your grace seriously to consider, whether I can have any inducement (as some of my enemies I doubt would persuade you I have,) to lay designs against you. Can they be such fools as to fancy I would attempt to get your grace out of the government, or to get into it myself. I solemnly protest, in the presence of God, that if I could have the government of this kingdom, and that I had abilities of mind and strength of body to support it, and that there were no debts due to the civil and military lists, and a constant revenue to maintain both, yet I would refuse to undertake it; for I have seen enough of this world, to make me find a country life is the best life in it. But since the infirmity of the gout, the weakness of my parts, and the misery this unhappy kingdom seems to be plunged into, do require exceedingly greater abilities to preserve it, than ever I can so much as hope to attain unto, as I would not be so treacherous to the king, my master, to my country, and to my friends and posterity, as to seek for that authority, which must ever in my own judgment, (and I protest to God I do not dissemble,) be very prejudicial, if not ruinous, to them all.

"This much as to what concerns my own self. Now, as to what concerns my endeavours of getting any other into the government. I would fain know whom they can believe, or so much as say, I would do that for, if I had the power to do it; (for I swear I know it not myself,) yet sure he must be a man that has laid greater obligations on me than your grace had, (and such a one I vow I know not,) for whom I would lose you to oblige him. If neither of these can rationally be believed, as I hope (after what I have vowed,) they will not be; then it is less rational to fancy that I would be plotting against your grace, and yet resolve to live under your government. I should be as much a fool as a knave to do it; and such as truly know me, will not easily believe, that ingratitude is a vice I am practically addicted to.

I know not that I have ever revenged myself on my enemy, when I had the power; and therefore I am not very likely to attempt against my benefactor when I have not the power.

"Neither is there any thing in your grace's interest and mine which is opposite; you are a devoted servant to his majesty, and may I perish and mine when I am not the like. You and your posterity are to suffer or flourish, as this kingdom does decay or thrive; the like I may say of me and mine. You are in the employment fittest for you; and I in the highest employment that ever I will aspire to. To which I cannot but add, that I did never yet my own self beg any thing for my friends, or for myself that your grace did deny me; which is more than I can promise to myself from whomsoever shall succeed you. In God's name, what can be then in it, to enable my ill-willers to bring me under that unhappiness I fear I am in? I do therefore, with all the earnestness and humility in the world, beseech your grace, either to free me now and for ever from it, on terms which may let you find I did not deserve it; or get me what satisfaction your grace shall think fit for my place of president of Munster, and I will go spend the rest of my time in my own house in England, and never see this enchanted kingdom more. I shall taste a thousand times more delight in that retirement, than in this employment, while I am under such misdoubts. Your grace knows, that as nothing but friendship can acquire friendship, so nothing but trust, and a full clearing of distrust, is an essential part of it. Let me therefore be but believed an honest man, till I am proved to be otherwise, and then I dare confidently conclude I shall be still esteemed, as I really am,

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's own unalterable servant,

"ORRERY."

A subsequent letter contains the following passage: "Whatever invitations I have had to appear against your grace, they were made to a particular friend of mine, who is of the parliament of England, who enjoined me secrecy in what he wrote or sent me, and only obliged himself to acquaint me with the persons which should accuse your grace, and with the matters of their accusation, in case I would join in both, which my resolutely refusing to do ended that negotiation; and the part I acted in it, is so far from being a generosity, (though your grace's civility is pleased to call it so,) as it was but a bare duty both to your employment and to your person, besides what I do particularly owe to your grace on many accounts, so that though I had the private contentment of being above such a temptation, yet I wanted the means to tell your grace who were your enemies, or with what arms they intended to assault you; which (as the state of things stood,) I could not learn, unless I became your enemy, or were false to my promise, both of which I equally abhorred to be. This being on my word and credit the truth, I humbly hope your grace will believe that I stand innocent as to what your grace's last letter has mentioned; and therefore I presume to think that your grace (in your turn,) will be pleased to let me clearly know, what in your letter of the 10th instant, you did obscurely (as to me) intimate in it, for I shall be at no rest, till I am clear in

your grace's belief, (after due proof,) as I am in my intentions, nay, I may say, as I am in my actions."

There are other letters equally strong, and the duke was quite satisfied, though there occurred many circumstances to awaken a doubt of the fairness of the earl's intentions: nor was it the least confirmatory circumstance, that the same suspicion was very general, of which the following anonymous letter may serve as an example:—"It is a good while, now, since first my lord-lieutenant hath been misrepresented here; and if reports were trusted to make good as well as draw up censures, besides the unactive humour and temper many charge against him, I am informed there are those yet behind the curtain who only wait an opportunity to join hands with the earl of Meath, to promote and strengthen a higher charge. Orrery is this night expected in town, and to lodge at my lord Conway's; and as great a master of good aspect that way, (it is my own observation indeed, but no groundless one,) as Anglesey would seem to be, it will not be long (if they can but divine or promise the least success to their prosecution,) before his grace find that gentleman discover himself another Mountmorris. We live amidst great frauds, because with persons who seem most what other than they are. I fear me I dare not promise for the secretary, what perhaps he would fain make my lord duke believe him to be, his friend. Be the inducement what it will, it is observable, a man doth ever his own business best, who trusts it not to another's management: and since his grace hath been struck at in the dark hitherto, all that have a love and service to his great integrity and merit, hold it safest, as more honourable, he should baffle their malice the same way he doth all other his great actings, even to the eyes of the world. I would not be thought now so vain, as to imagine I looked beyond what his grace doth; but with all submission I crave leave to offer, what my great duty, and as great zeal prompted me to, and that is to presume he hath more and greater enemies than he thinks he hath. The comprehensive bill hath made almost a great uproar among us; and the honest old gentry of England are so much the church's sons still, that hitherto, notwithstanding all the vigorous and powerful thereof, they have been able to suppress it: but the debate is to be resumed again next Wednesday; and then having got new strength, the secretaries expect no less than undoubted conquest; and amongst the aids promised them, I have it from good authority, that a great minister here hath undertaken his grace shall be for the toleration, and use his interest to effect it; which God forbid, that he, who never yet had blot on his scutcheon, upon any account, either in church or state, should ever have his name sullied, to be upon record among the schismatics, as an enemy to his mother, the church. But better things are believed of his grace, by all who have an honour for him; and when he comes over, no doubt this kingdom will find it."

Indorsed.—"Letter to the Duchess of Ormonde, from an unknown person, left with the porter of my lodgings, at Whitehall: received April, 21, 1668."

The protestations of the earl of Orrery do not permit us consistently, with the view we have taken of his character, to infer that he was at the time of these letters directly engaged in the conspiracy against the duke, of which there is no doubt. It is nevertheless difficult wholly to reject suspicions warranted by so many circumstances: the earl of Orrery was engaged in the strictest ties of political interest and personal friendship with the very persons from whom all danger was to be apprehended. We think it also essential to a just conclusion, to take into account the shrewd and calculating disposition of this nobleman: nor can we omit the consideration, that they who were the enemies of the duke of Ormonde were his friends, and were not unlikely either to rely on his aid, or to throw proportional inducements in his way. The duke indeed, was completely satisfied by the letters above cited, but he must have been aware of the natural effects which circumstances would not fail to produce on the earl of Orrery, and which we believe to have been the actual result—that after a struggle between his regard for the duke, and other considerations affecting his own interest, he acceded to the wishes of those who wished for his aid. He had early applied to the duke for licence to go to England, but as appears from his letters, deferred proceeding for several months: we consider the delay to have originated in the vacillation arising from the conflict of opposite purposes. But when finally he prepared to depart, it became plain enough which way the scale was inclining; and the duke of Ormonde, long urged to appear in his own behalf, at last thought it high time to confront the base but powerful faction who were actively banded for his ruin. On the 24th April he left Dublin and arrived next day at Holyhead, having committed the government to lord Ossory.

His reception in London was impressive and magnificent: numbers of the nobility and gentry went out to meet him in their coaches, and he entered the city with a large procession of rank and respectability, which would have been still more considerable but that the houses of parliament were sitting at the time, and engaged in a debate of great warmth and interest. This circumstance, though quite unsought on the duke's part, wounded the king's pride and mortified Buckingham, who nevertheless visited him immediately, and protested that he was quite unconcerned in any design to injure him. By the king he was also received with the wonted kindness, or rather respect, for the king stood in awe of the duke, who was far too dignified and frank for his regard.

The charges against the duke did not, however, long suffer him to be in doubt about the intentions of his enemies. The arrival of lord Orrery was the signal of attack. The earl of Orrery was the fast friend of the leading members of the cabal against the duke, and in addition to the remarks already made it is also with truth observed, that he had himself a strong interest in some of the most important decisions to which these charges might lead. The duke had advised the reduction of the Irish establishment, or the increase of the means for their support. Lord Orrery's interest lay in the full maintenance of the military establishment; he at once, on arriving in London, asserted that the revenue was sufficient, but that it had been misapplied. The accounts were examined, and the facts did not bear

out this assertion: the payments were found to have been for the most part essential, and fully amounting to the receipts, but two sums had been ordered by the duke, and of these one was to the earls of Anglesey and Orrery, and the other to a Mr Fitz-Gerald, but neither had been paid: the duke was on this score free from imputation. Much of the waste had however arisen from a source independent of every Irish authority, the king's own warrants, by which large sums had occasionally been disbursed in the Irish treasury. The earl of Anglesey, who was treasurer of the navy, and was involved in this charge, was found quite free from blame.

The reduction of the Munster army was in consequence decided on, and it was also considered advisable to call an Irish parliament, much to the annoyance of the earl of Orrery, as his own enemies in Ireland had been maturing charges against him as president of Munster, on an impeachment in the Irish parliament. The conspiracy against the duke and the earl of Anglesey ended in the establishment of these facts: that the revenue had not been adequately collected, and that there was a considerable arrear. It was ascertained that the expenses of the establishment had always exceeded the revenue; but that the excess had been diminishing annually during the duke's administration.*

The charges against the duke were altogether relinquished as wholly groundless; but the eagerness of his enemies was unsatisfied, and he was still pursued with the same relentless animosity. The system of operations was necessarily changed. Failing to find a weak point for an assault upon his reputation, his virtues were turned against him: it was quickly seen by the keen eye of court malignity, that the friendship of Charles was an unwilling tribute to one whom he feared; for with the profligate respect is fear or dislike. It was therefore now resolved to render him unpopular with the king, and also to practise upon the pride of the duke himself.

The duke's own friends had advised him to resign a station which was the mark of envy and treachery. But this was a step to which there lay some very strong objections: there was in reality not a single person competent to fill his place, who could be trusted with the interests of Ireland; and the duke having given up 400,000 acres of property for the sum of £50,000, which was allotted for the payment of his creditors, was also aware that he would lose the money if he should leave the country.

During the following nine months the duke was kept in a state of suspense as to the intentions of the king. From the perusal of a considerable mass of letters and other documents, we are enabled to infer with considerable certainty the real course of proceeding which was adopted by his enemies, and sanctioned by the king with some reluctance, and not without a sense of shame: profligate and unprincipled, he was not without sagacity and good taste, and understood but too well the baseness and insignificance of those who were necessary to his vices. Failing miserably in their efforts to cast disgrace upon the duke, whose character rose *undique tutus* from their shallow and pre-

* Carte, II. 371.

capitate accusations, the next effort was to proceed by court intrigue, to bring round the indolent and complying humour of the king, and in the mean time to cast an impenetrable obscurity around their real designs. For this purpose the duke was courted and imposed upon by professions and pretexts: the king assured him that he should not be removed from the government, and his enemies appeared to have relented in their purposes. The duke was too sagacious to be wholly deceived, but too honourable to comprehend the whole extent of their hypocrisy: he could not help perceiving that he was sedulously excluded from all councils upon Irish affairs, while he was carefully consulted upon every other topic. From this, and from the oft-repeated advice of pretending friends, he was soon led to suspect that the object of the court party was to "unfasten" him first from his position, and then to remove him wholly. We shall here offer a selection of extracts from his confidential correspondence with his son:—

August 4th, 1668.—"I have expostulated with my lord of Orrery the unfriendliness and disrespect of his making propositions, so much relating to my employment, and contrary to his promise, without acquainting me with them. What his answers to so unavoidable a charge you may guess; but they were such as I was content to receive for that time." * * * * *

"It is evident my lord of Orrery would avert the disbanding of any part of the army, and at least delay the calling of an Irish parliament which engages him in undertakings very hard to be made good. Time will show the issue of all." August 15th, 1668.

"All that can be said of the publick is that discontent and despondence was never more high or universal, nor ever any court fallen to so much contempt, or governed with so little care to redeem itself. All that can be said in favour of the times and government is, that (for ought I can find,) justice betwixt man and man, and that upon offenders, is well distributed in the courts of judicature; but certainly the favours, recompenses and employments, are not so. * * *

"As to my private, it is certain, the insinuations of my enemies (who will be found to be the king's in the end,) had prevailed with his majesty to believe that I had not served him with that care and thrift which the state of his affairs required. And, I am not free from doubt, but that those suggestions may have drawn some engagement from him, not to admit of my return into Ireland, with which he now finds himself embarrassed, especially they failing to make good what they undertook to discover, of my mismanagement. Whether my interest and innocence will prevail, or their malice and artifice, is the question." September, 1668.

"On Thursday last, by former appointment, Mr Treasurer and I dined at my lord Arlington's; the design being that we three might freely talk upon the subject of the alteration of the government of Ireland. The endeavour on their part was to persuade me to think it reasonable and without prejudice to me, that (retaining the name and appointments of lieutenant,) I should name fit persons to govern in my absence, and by applying themselves to me upon all occasions. I answered (with all submission to the king's will) that to make any change in the government till I had been once more on the place, would be understood to

proceed from the king's dissatisfaction with my service, and would inevitably bring ruin and disgrace upon me, and be matter of triumph to my enemies and dejection to my friends. Yet if I could be convinced how it would advantage his majesty to have me removed, I would, as I have always done, prefer his service and prosperity to any interest of my own. But (I said,) that without entering into panegyricks of myself, I knew nothing fit for the king to do in Ireland, which I was not as well able to do as any he could employ.

"Many other things interposed in our discourse, whereof at length the result was, that my lord Arlington said he was verily persuaded I might have the matter ordered as I would myself. When we were ready to break up that conversation, I told his lordship, 'I had long and patiently observed myself excluded from all conversations relating to Ireland; that it was not in my nature to thrust myself upon business, especially such as seemed industriously kept from me; but that on the other side, I would not willingly be thought empty of thoughts fit for his majesty's knowledge and consideration, and doggedly sit silent out of discontent.' His advice to me was, to speak freely of the affairs of Ireland with the king, and my lord keeper. Last of all, I desired him to let me know what was misliked in my conduct, which might do me prejudice with the king. He answered, that all he could observe was, that it was held a negligence in me to suffer my lord Anglesey to pervert so much of the public money as he had done; that it was evident the revenue exceeded the establishment, and yet the army was vastly in arrear. I answered that this was what I foresaw would reflect upon me in the execution of that commission, which I was told should not in the least touch me. However, it was hard to impute my lord of Anglesey's faults (if any he had committed,) to me, especially since his majesty knew that I had by express warrant commanded him to prefer the establishment to all other payments." November 21st, 1668.

"My last was of the 13th instant. That very evening I had notice the king intended the next day, at a committee of foreign affairs, to declare his resolution to change the governor of Ireland: which accordingly he did, and my lord Privy Seal to succeed. His majesty declared without any stop or hesitation (which sometimes happens in his discourse,) 'how well he was satisfied with my thirty years service to his father and himself; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appear by admitting me into the most secret and important parts of his affairs; and that nobody should have an higher or nearer place in his esteem or confidence.'" February 16th, 1668.

The king's respect for the duke of Ormonde amounts to something very like fear, he was "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," and after his mind was fully made up to dismiss him from his office, he waited many days and made many abortive efforts to put his plan into execution. He sent lord Arlington to him for his commission, but the duke told this lord that he had received his commission from the king's own hand, and would return it to no other. He then went to deliver it to the king who denied the message. Two days after, the duke received another visit from lord Arlington, who delivered the

same message, and received the same answer. Again he waited upon the king, who again disclaimed his message. In the next meeting of the privy council, however, he declared the dismissal of the duke, and the appointment of lord Roberts in his room. On receiving an account of this, the duke once more went to expostulate with the king, and to his surprise the king denied the entire proceeding: he then however sent a gentleman, who was a connexion of the duke's, to explain, that he had actually made the change, but denied it because he saw the duke was heated and might say something not respectful. He assured the duke that he would still "be kind to him, and continue him lord steward," and pleaded the necessity of his affairs.*

What confidence the duke of Ormonde may have felt in any assurance of the king's we cannot say; but he shortly after received a mark of honour and respect above the power of the lying and time-serving monarch who then disgraced the throne of England to confer.

The duchess of Ormonde had repaired to Ireland to reduce the establishment which the duke had found necessary as lord-lieutenant: on her return, he went to meet her, and having stopped at Oxford, he was entertained by the university, and complimented with the degree of doctor of civil law; and the chancellorship being vacant by the resignation of the earl of Clarendon, the choice of the university fell on the duke. The university was guided in this election by the advice of Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom this high dignity had in the first instance been offered: it was declined by the archbishop on the score of his age and great infirmities, but he assured the university that he could think of no one so fit for the office as the duke of Ormonde. We give a portion of the primate's letter: "A person whom I cannot mention but with all characters of honour; who, besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtue and merits, by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the king and church; and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality will dignify their choice, his affection for them will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them." The duke was inaugurated with great solemnity in London, on the 26th of August, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Rochester, with a numerous attendance of doctors of all the faculties, and members of the university, who walked in procession to Worcester house, where they were joined by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury. Here they took their places in solemn order in a large room, and the cause of the convocation having been declared, the duke of Ormonde came from a side-room, attended by the earls of Bedford, Ailesbury, Dunfermline and Carlingford, and having taken his place, was addressed in a set speech by the vice-chancellor. The duke then had delivered to him the seals of the office, the book of statutes, and the keys; and next took the oaths required on the occasion, after which the members of the university took the oaths of duty to the chancellor, and lastly, the duke made a speech, in which he thanked the university, assured the convocation of his determination to maintain their rights, preserve their

* Burnet.

statutes, encourage learning, and give his protection on all occasions to that learned body in general, and to every deserving member of it in particular.* This election does equal honour to the university and to the duke. No public body has uniformly stood so high as the university of Oxford, for the high and disinterested ground it has ever taken on every question in which principle has been concerned; and while this character is honourably exemplified in the act by which it honoured and exalted a nobleman, who was at that moment an object of rancorous persecution to the most powerful faction in the kingdom, armed with the influence of the court: it nobly attests the true character which the duke's whole life and actions maintained among the wise and good men of his age.

The duke, whose honours were for the most part hardly earned, was of a disposition to be peculiarly affected by such a mark of respect. It was his temper to sacrifice his ease and interest to the good of the kingdom; and it was to posterity that he looked for his renown. A conversation which he had about this time with a friend, may be quoted as the faithful expression of his sentiments, in connexion with a fact very remarkable through his entire history:—"He had been a little before (as he was taking a walk early in the morning with Sir Robert Southwell, in the Pall-mall,) discoursing of the vicissitudes of fortune, how it had still befallen him to be employed in times of the greatest difficulty, and when affairs were in the worst situation; how his employments had been thrown upon him without any desire or application of his own; how, when he thought his actions were most justifiable, they commonly found the hardest interpretation, and concluded at last, 'well, (said he) nothing of this shall break my heart; for however it may fare with me in the court, I am resolved to lie well in the chronicle.'" Such indeed is the sense of all the truly illustrious, the "last infirmity of noble minds," and never more truly exemplified than in this great man, to whom history, but partially true, has not wholly done justice yet. For so trying and complicated was the maze of faction with which he had to contend, and unhappily so permanent have been the animosities and prejudices, of which he was, during his life, a central mark; that all the basest calumnies, and most contemptible misconstructions of party-spirit, are still suffered to have a place in every history which aims to please a large class of the public; so that the numerous libels which were the foam and venom of the vile faction by which he was baited at this period of his life, have had but too many echoes from writers, whose injustice is the disinterested result of their prejudices, which have prevented them from deliberate and impartial inquiry. At the time of which we write, the enemies of the duke finding themselves wholly unable to establish any case to his discredit, endeavoured to avenge their failure by the most scandalous publications, full of those vague charges, that go so far with the multitude, which is ever strongly impressed by violent language and easily imposed upon by any sort of specious mis-statement. But of the numerous libels at this time published to injure the duke, it may be said that they contain in themselves the antidote for all their venom: the principles adopted by these writers, and the persons whom they put forward as deserving

* Carte, II.

of public confidence, sufficiently neutralize their accusations, or convert them into honourable testimonies of worth. Of the greater part of these the duke of Buckingham was the instigator, and of many there is stronger reason to suspect him the author. He was irritated to find the acts which had occasioned the ruin of Clarendon, insufficient to put the duke of Ormonde as wholly aside as he thought necessary for his purposes. It was a serious mortification after all his undermining, to find that there was still a presiding spirit superior to fear, and at enmity with falsehood, to discountenance his intrigues and repress his craft in council. He was therefore unremitting in raising up enemies and complaints against the duke. In these he was mostly defeated, by the extravagance or the notorious untruth of the statements; in others he gave considerable trouble and vexation. Among these latter, the most remarkable was a complaint brought forward by the earl of Meath, who charged the duke with having quartered soldiers on his tenants, in the liberties of Dublin, which he asserted to be treason; and made several allegations of oppression and injury, sustained from the duke's officers and men. He refused, however, to substantiate his charges by any proof: on inquiry it appeared that the soldiers had fully paid for every thing they had received: that the army had always been quartered in Dublin, under every government; and that the duke had not brought but found them there. These accusations being thus found insufficient, lord Meath, who was evidently instrumental to the duke of Buckingham, was sent back to Ireland to look for further proofs, and additional matter of accusation. In the end, however, he found himself compelled to apologize to the council for the insufficiency of his case: which he would not even venture to bring forward, until the duke of Ormonde himself, indignant at the propagation of groundless reports, and considering the fullest investigation as the best security for his reputation, had lord Meath summoned, and a day fixed for hearing him, and investigating the case. Lord Meath would most willingly have come forward with a strong statement, but he shrunk from the investigation.

An attack of a more artful and invidious kind was made in a pamphlet containing certain queries upon the subject of the grants of land and money which had been made to the duke. And it is not easy to conceive a more detestable tissue of injustice, sophistry, and misrepresentation. Through the entire there is an obvious appeal to the ignorance of the English public on the facts; by a daring and broad mis-statement of every one of them, which could not for a moment pass in Ireland or bear any species of investigation. The actual claims of the duke are overlooked, his legal rights passed by, the greatness of his losses unnoticed, and the abortiveness of the grants themselves dishonestly sunk: the *suppressio veri* was never more thoroughly exemplified. But these accusations were only for the ear of the multitude, they were designed to create a prejudice in the House of Commons, which it was easier to corrupt, to alarm, or to exasperate, than to convince by fact or reason. We cannot, without a far greater sacrifice of space than is consistent with the plan of these lives, enter at length into the considerable mass of accompts and statements which would be essential to a just view of this question. Some facts we have already

mentioned; we can only sum them here very generally and briefly. One large grant consisted merely of a confirmation of the duke's legal claims to estates which had been granted by his family, on conditions according to which they had actually reverted to the donor. The most elementary principles of the laws of property, the basis of all law, must be set aside before this can be spoken of as a grant. Yet this right, amounting to 400,000 acres, the duke resigned to facilitate the settlement, in consideration of a sum not amounting to a tenth of the value, and this was itself apportioned for the payment of creditors whose claims should have been met by the government. This small sum was never paid to the duke. A grant of £30,000 from the Irish parliament is among the imaginary gains of the duke; and doubtless it is an honourable testimony of public approbation: but if the Irish parliament really imagined that it was any thing more, they committed an oversight of considerable magnitude, as their grant was coupled with conditions which turned it into a grant to the duke's tenants, and not to himself. The whole of the remaining grants fell far short of his great losses, and were not in any case more than partially paid. We may conclude on this by extracting the statement of Carte, where the whole can be seen at a glance.

The Duke of Ormonde, creditor.

To loss of nine years income of his estate in Ireland, from October, 1641, to December, 1650, £20,000 a-year,	£180,000	0	0
To spoil, and waste of timber, buildings, &c., on it,	50,000	0	0
To debts contracted by the service of the crown during the troubles,	130,000	0	0
To seven years rents of his estate, from 1653, to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and soldiers that possessed it,	140,000	0	0
To the value of estates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were vested in him, but given up by the act of explanation,	319,061	5	0
	£869,061	5	0
To arrears of pay as lord-lieutenant, commissioned officer, &c.,	62,736	9	8
To ditto, for fourteen months, from July, 1647, to September, 1648, at the rate of the allowance of £7893 a-year to the earl of Leicester, during his absence from Ireland,	9,208	10	0
To ditto, for nine years and four months, from December, 1660, to June, 1669,	73,668	0	0
Total of losses and credits,	£1,014,674	4	8

The Duke of Ormonde, debtor.

By receipts on the £30,000 act in Ireland, . . .	£26,440	0	0
By ditto, on the grant of £71,916, . . .	63,129	10	8
By ditto, on the £50,000, granted by the explanatory act, . . .	25,196	1	11
By savings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances, . . .	5,655	12	10
By rents received from the lands given up by the explanatory act, . . .	5,626	2	6
By houses, &c., on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c., valued by commissioners at £840 12s. a-year, at ten years purchase, . . .	8,406	0	0
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, set at first for £1194, but afterwards improved and set in 1681 at £1594 a-year, but being subject to a quit-rent of £449 a year, their improved yearly value is but £1165 at ten years purchase, . . .	11,650	0	0
Total of profit, . . .	£146,083	7	11
Total losses and dues to the duke of Ormonde, . . .	£1,014,674	4	8
Deduct as by particular of profits, . . .	146,083	7	11
So that the duke's losses by the troubles and settlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits . . .	£868,590	16	9

This statement has the best authority, as it has been drawn not from any loose verbal account, or any individual representation prepared to meet objections, but from the careful comparison of several accompts and vouchers belonging to the actual agency of the duke's affairs, and selected from the mass of his private papers, drawn up by his agents.* They leave no doubt upon the one fact, that the whole result of all the main transactions of his public life was loss to the enormous amount of the above sum—nearly a million. The truth indeed is otherwise so apparent, that it is not easy to understand the insinuations of a certain class of historians, but by allowing largely for the fact that narrow and illiberal minds are incapable of comprehending any motives that are not low and sordid. We do not, for our own part, insist upon a perfect freedom from motives of a personal and interested nature, either for the duke of Ormonde, or any other man, as shall appear in the estimate which we shall presently have to offer of the great man who has occupied so large a portion of our notice.

The virtues which rendered the duke of Ormonde's character proof against a virulence of factious and personal animosity, armed with a degree of influence and authority under which any other person of his generation must have sunk a victim, was itself the main cause of all that enmity, and contributed to its increase during the six years which he spent in England. In this interval, the real dignity of his character was placed in a more conspicuous light than often happens in the history of eminent men. The circle in which he daily moved was

* Carte, II. p. 408.

singularly distinguished by talent and profligacy, and combined all the lofty and brilliant pretensions which, so combined, can make vice imposing and cast virtue into the shade: every aim, act, and thought, was a mockery of all grace and goodness, and the whole scene, with all its actors and actresses, was a vanity-fair of intrigue, corruption, infidelity, and indecency. Amidst this trying scene, the duke of Ormonde may be said to have "stood alone:" hated by the insolent courtier; feared by the corrupt and small-minded, but not malignant, monarch, who in the midst of his folly, weakness, and vice, had enough of natural good sense and tact to see and feel the real greatness of a servant of whom he was not worthy: an object of the most inveterate dislike to the miscreant combination of useless talents and efficient vices which ruled the ascendant at court; and of aversion and detestation to the abandoned women, whose favour was there the only road to a perverted respect and favour: the duke held his position unwarped from his high course and unabashed by the meretricious insolence of the court: neither assuming on one side the haughtiness of principle, nor on the other, condescending to countenance what he did not approve, or conciliate those whom he despised; but calmly and steadily watching for the occasion to do good, or neutralize evil. He was indeed disliked at court chiefly because he refused to countenance those degraded women, who humbled themselves that they might be exalted, in a sense widely differing from the divine precept; and the king, who was ruled entirely by these, and by persons who stooped to court their good offices, was compelled to preserve a demeanour of the utmost reserve to him, scarcely looking at him, and only addressing him when he could not avoid it. Nevertheless, he seldom failed to appear at court and take his place at the council, where he always gave his opinion frankly, and without either reserve or deference to any. Such was the general posture which he held in this interval: one far more trying to him than the embarrassments and emergencies of his official life. The remarks of his biographer on this period of his history should not be omitted:—"His grace remained for several years after in court, under great eclipse and mortifications; but, having a peculiar talent of bearing misfortunes with an invincible patience, the bystanders thought this to be the most glorious part of his life; and this was the very expression of his grace archbishop Sheldon to me on this occasion. However, in this state, he spared not to be chiefly instrumental to get the Irish innocents discharged from their quit-rents, and to free them also from satisfying the demands about the lapse-money,* &c., and to contribute in every thing to do them justice, notwithstanding their animosities against him."†

The disfavour of the court did not protect the duke from the animosity of those who lived in the sunshine of its favour; even in disgrace his greatness could not be forgiven by those to whom to be virtuous alone was a full ground for the bitterest enmity; even in adversity and neglect, he was pursued with the animosity of defeated competition; his very existence seemed to cast a shadow on their baseness; and as he could not be disgraced by calumny or impeached

* Lapse-money was a sum of money deposited, which, if the purchase of lands was not completed by a certain time, was to be forfeited by the act of settlement

† Southwell.

by real chicaneries, nothing remained but assassination. We may here instance the attempt to assassinate him by Blood, who, there is little doubt, was in the pay of Buckingham, although something may be allowed for private enmity. Enmity alone, when the cause is considered, would not have been sufficient to induce an attempt of such singular desperation: the prosecution of Blood, as an active ring-leader of insurrection by the lord-lieutenant, was so merely official, that it was in a great measure divested of all personal character.

The duke had attended the prince of Orange to an entertainment made for him by the city of London, and was on his return home. The hour was late, and the night dark; he had reached St James' street, at the end of which he then resided in Clarendon house; his six footmen, who ordinarily walked on the street on each side of his coach, had loitered, and there was nobody near but the coachman, when suddenly as the coach entered the Hay Market, (then a road,) it was surrounded by five horsemen: they dragged the duke from the carriage, and mounted him on a horse behind the rider, who was a large and strong man. The coachman drove as fast as he could to Clarendon house, which was fortunately at hand, and there gave an alarm to the porter, and to a Mr James Clarke, who was waiting in the court; these immediately gave chase, and ordered the other servants to follow as fast as they could. In the mean time the mysterious horsemen pursued their way: they could have killed the duke with ease, and made their escape in the darkness of the night, but the inveterate temper of Blood, or of his employer, was unsatisfied with such a simple execution of their intent. It was perhaps thought that assassination would lose its atrocity by using the implements of public justice; whatever was the feeling, Blood determined to hang the duke at Tyburn. This resolution saved the duke; preserving his usual composure, he calculated that he should be pursued, and judged that the principal chance in his favour would be secured by delay. Blood rode on for the purpose of preparing the gallows. The duke availed himself of the circumstance, and by struggling violently with the miscreant who rode before him, he prevented him from going faster than a walk: they had got as far as Knightsbridge, when the duke, suddenly placing his foot under the man's, and clasping him firmly, threw himself off; and both coming to the ground, a struggle commenced in the mud, in which the duke, though at the time of this incident, in his sixty-third year, resisted all the efforts of his antagonist until lord Berkeley's porter came out from Berkeley house, before which the struggle had taken place: the duke's own servants now also came up. On their appearance, the fellow disengaged himself, and got on horseback; but before he made his retreat he fired a case of pistols at the duke. It was however too dark for an aim, and he was in too great a hurry to escape, as numbers of people had by this time taken the alarm, and a crowd was rushing together from every quarter. The duke was quite exhausted by the long struggle, and much wounded, bruised and shaken by the heavy fall, and it was found necessary to carry him home, where he was for some days confined to his bed.

The perpetrator of this daring outrage was not discovered for some

time, until an attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the Tower, led to his seizure. The king, who seems to have had some weakness in favour of dissolute characters, was curious to see Blood, and to examine him himself, and the adroit ruffian had the tact to catch the character of his royal examiner at a glance. He won his favour by the assumption of the most cool audacity, acknowledged every fact, and gave such reasons as best suited the purpose and the temper of the king. Among other things, he was asked why he attempted the duke of Ormonde's life? he answered that the duke had caused his estate to be taken away, and that he and many others had bound themselves to be revenged. He now told the king that he had been engaged with others to assassinate himself, by shooting him "with a carabine from out of the reeds by the Thames' side, above Battersea, where he often went to swim: that the cause of his resolution was his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly [he must have had strange ideas of godliness] in suppressing the freedom of their religious assemblies; but when he had taken his stand in the reeds for that purpose, his heart misgave him out of an awe of his majesty, and he not only relented himself, but diverted his companions from their design." He then told the king, "that he had laid himself sufficiently open to the law, and he might reasonably expect to feel the utmost of its rigour, for which he was prepared, and had no concern on his own account. But it would not prove a matter of such indifference to his majesty; for there were hundreds of his friends yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity upon those who should bring them to justice, which would expose the king and all his ministers to daily fears and apprehensions of a massacre. But on the other side, if his majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many, who (as they had been seen to attempt daring mischiefs) would be as bold and enterprising (if received to pardon and favour) in performing eminent services to the crown."

The effect of this bravado upon the king might well have been calculated upon: Blood was pardoned. The dastardly spirit from which this mockery of mercy proceeded, was broadly distinguished from heroic magnanimity and royal clemency, by the derogatory and disgraceful addition of a pension and of royal favour. Decorum required that the duke's consent should be obtained, and Blood was desired to write to him: lord Arlington went from the king to inform his grace that it was his majesty's desire that he should pardon Blood: the duke answered, "that if the king could forgive him the stealing of his crown, he might easily forgive him the attempt on his life,* and since it was his majesty's pleasure, that was a reason sufficient for him, his lordship might spare the rest."† Blood was not only pardoned, but had an estate of £500 a-year settled on him in Ireland, and was admitted to that inner circle of court favour, to which indeed it is to be admitted, he was no inappropriate accession. To these remarks we may here add those with which Carte concludes his account of the transaction:—"No man more assiduous than he, in both the secretaries offices.

* Carte.

† Ibid.

If any one had a business at court that stuck, he made his application to Blood, as the most industrious and successful solicitor, and many gentlemen courted his acquaintance, as the Indians pray to the devil that he may not hurt them. He was perpetually in the royal apartments, and affected particularly to be in some room where the duke of Ormonde was, to the indignation of all others, though neglected and overlooked by his grace. All the world stood amazed at this mercy, countenance, and favour, shown to so atrocious a malefactor, the reason and meaning of which they could not see nor comprehend. The general opinion was, that Blood was put upon this assassination by the duke of Buckingham and the duchess of Cleveland, who both hated the duke of Ormonde mortally, and were powerful advocates to solicit and obtain his pardon. The reason assigned by the criminal for his attempt upon the duke was considered as a mere excuse, for his grace had done nothing particularly against him, more than against others concerned with him in the same conspiracy, and put into the same proclamation. If Blood's estate at Sarney was forfeited for his treason, and upon his attainder granted by his majesty to Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction, all this was done in the full course of government, and must have been done by any other lord-lieutenant, as well as the duke of Ormonde. Blood knew very well his own guilt, and had no reason to resent any thing in this proceeding of his grace; nor do acts merely ministerial use to produce in any, such resentments as cannot be satisfied without the assassination of a minister, who, in the discharge of his duty and the trust reposed in him by his prince, could not have spared his own father in the same case.* Carte adds several arguments to prove that there was no person so likely to be the instigator of this attempt as the duke of Buckingham. Among these, one of great weight is derived from the fact, that the designs of this splendid villain were materially interfered with by the mere presence of the duke of Ormonde. There was some discouragement in the very existence of an enemy whose character was hedged round by the respect of all the wise and good: the intrinsic value of whose opinions on every concern of importance gave him a degree of weight even in the council; and who, considering the unsettled and dangerous condition of Ireland, was still likely to be entrusted again with power, and to obtain without an effort, the restoration of those honours, appointments, and influence, which his unprincipled and in every way unworthy rival was working through a hundred dirty channels to secure for himself and his accomplices.

We must, for the present, pass by the history of Irish affairs: they are indeed of little historical interest, and may be more fully brought together in some one of the following memoirs, as belonging to the train of events and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the revolution of 1688. During this period of his life—one of court disfavour, but of honour in the better judgment of Europe—the duke of Ormonde was engaged in the council upon the consideration of all matters relative to English or foreign affairs, but entirely excluded

* Vol. II.

from the committee on the affairs of Ireland. It is true that he was appealed to by that class of the Roman catholics, who had refused to accede to the communications of their brethren with the Roman court, and who had joined in the remonstrance: there was at this time a secret court-party in favour of the views of that court, and the ultrapapists were not only favoured, but their enmity against their more moderate and loyal brethren seconded by acts of persecution which we shall not now detail. They applied to the duke, who wrote in their favour to the lord-lieutenant, but to no other purpose but that of drawing upon himself the mortification of a slight. We here add a part of one of the duke's letters on this subject, as it sufficiently explains the whole, and places his conduct in its proper light:—"And now, my lord, that you may not judge me to be impertinent in my interposition in the matter, and in your government, give me leave to tell you why I take myself to lie under more than the ordinary obligation of a counsellor to mind his majesty of the remonstrators, and to endeavour to free them from the slavery and ruin prepared for them for that reason, however other pretences are taken up. Some of those very remonstrators, and other of their principles are and were those who opposed the rebellious violence of the nuncio and his party, when the king's authority then in my hands was invaded, and at length expelled that kingdom, for which they suffered great vexation in foreign parts, when the fear of the usurpers had driven them out of their own country. These are the men who, on the king's return, in their remonstrance disowned the doctrine upon which those proceedings of the nuncio were founded; and these are the men very particularly recommended by the king to my care and encouragement, during all the time of my government. And now, I leave it to your lordship to judge, whether in duty to the king, with safety to my reputation, or in honesty to them, I can receive so many complaints of oppression from them as I do, and not endeavour that at least they may quietly enjoy their share of that indulgence which his majesty vouchsafes to others of their profession, free from those disturbances which are given them upon that account by those who abetted the contrary proceedings. I have drawn this to a greater length than is necessary, being directed to one so reasonable as your excellency, but it is my desire to acquit myself from the imputation of so mean a thing as seems to be laid to my charge, and to show that in this matter I have done nothing but what may consist with my being as I am,—My lord, &c.,

"ORMONDE."*

In 1673, the lady Thurles, mother to the duke, died at the advanced age of eighty-six. He had for some time meditated a visit to Ireland, and his determination was probably hastened by this event. He was perhaps also wearied with the long continuance of galling humiliations which he was compelled to sustain in his attendance at court, and under which any one but himself must long before have given way. By this time, at which we are arrived, these annoyances had greatly increased: so great was become the ascendancy of the rout of knaves

* Carte, II.

and prostitutes, which made up the Comus court of Charles, that the duke, without any distinct quarrel with the king, was universally understood to be out of favour. No one in habitual attendance, or in any way dependent on the smiles of courtiers and their patronesses, dared speak to the lord steward, whom it was, says Southwell,* "a melancholy sight" to see walking alone along the galleries with his white rod of office. The king, who really esteemed the duke, was not exempt from this degrading influence, and was under the awkward necessity of maintaining an air of neglect towards one whom he could not help feeling to be greater than himself. The duke maintained his wonted high and grave composure in the midst of all this tinselled insignificance and varnished display of pride and scorn, and the monarch sometimes felt his own littleness and stood abashed. One day when the duke was engaged in conversation with a company of foreign noblemen who attended the court, this effect became so apparent, that the duke of Buckingham galled by the superiority of one who repaid his hate with scornful indifference, could not help stepping up to the king, and whispering in his ear, "I wish your majesty would resolve me one question, whether it be the duke of Ormonde that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty that is out of favour with the duke of Ormonde? for of the two, you really look the most out of countenance." In fact, the king not only avoided speaking to the duke, but constantly endeavoured to avoid his eye, "by industrious looking another way,"† though occasionally in moments of embarrassment, he would take him aside to ask his advice. One of these occasions is related by Carte, when having given the seals to Shaftesbury, he took the duke aside into the recess of a window and asked him if he did right: the duke replied, "your majesty has no doubt acted very prudently in so doing, if you knew how to get them from him again."

But to return to our narrative, the duke now came to the resolution to return to Ireland and look after his own affairs. He left Clarendon house in the beginning of June, with the duchess and family, and proceeded to Bath, the waters of which had been advised for his gout. After remaining there for a fortnight, he sailed for Waterford, and arrived there after a fair passage of twenty hours, on the 27th June, 1674. From thence he went to Kilkenny, and soon after to Dublin, in order to pay due respect to the earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But this lord, infected with the general disease of court antipathy, and offended by the popular reception of the duke by the city of Dublin, received him with a coldness which was not only felt by the duke, but noticed with general indignation. In Dublin, and still more in the county of Kilkenny, the demonstrations of public respect and affection were so remarkable as to give a full and not very gratifying refutation to the notion which had been long and industriously circulated, that he was disliked in Ireland. In Kilkenny he amused his leisure with the usual recreations of country life, having like every active-spirited person inured to rural life, a strong taste for hunting and hawking.

It was during this period of the duke's life that his eminent son, the

* Life of Ormonde.

† Carte.

earl of Ossory, the heir of his worth and talent, though unhappily not of his honours, was rising into illustrious eminence, by his distinguished services in the navy, when he rose to the rank of admiral. We shall notice the main incidents of his life in a separate memoir. But we must here take the occasion to present the reader with a new and most interesting aspect of the duke's character, which may perhaps have hitherto been looked for as an essential feature; for never in a christian country, and in the record of christian ages, has there been a character like the duke's without piety. When we look to his moderation in success, his calmness in the most trying difficulties, and his noble resignation under the combined visitations of wounding slander, the ingratitude of the court, and the embarrassment of his private affairs; when we contemplate his constant and strenuous maintenance of the protestant church, and the devotion he showed to the maintenance of those principles which he regarded as sacred, with the perfect disinterestedness shown by his ready and frequent abandonment of all those advantages which are mostly the entire aims of public men; we are compelled to search for the profound and elevated principle which sustained him throughout, one, so far beyond the standard of worldly worth and wisdom, in some influence above their range. On this subject we are enabled not only to offer the valuable testimony of his old and faithful friend, Sir R. Southwell, but the still more direct proof of his own devotional compositions, which indicate a high and pure as well as fervent and zealous devotion, breathing the language of every christian grace:—"I continued," writes Southwell, "for this month with his grace, and lay so near him, as often in the night to hear him at his devotions. He had composed some excellent prayers on several occasions, which have since appeared among his papers. He would often discourse to me of the emptiness of all worldly things—of honours, riches, favour, and even of family and posterity itself." Of the prayers mentioned in this extract, we here insert that which was the fruit of the duke's affliction on the death of his illustrious son.

His prayer and humiliation on the death of his son, the earl of Ossory.

"O God, by whom and in whom we live, move, and have our being, I own and adore thy justice, and magnify thy mercy and goodness, in that thou hast taken from me, and to thyself, my dear and beloved son. My sins have called for this correction, and thou didst hold thy hand till thy patience was justly wearied by my continual and unrepented transgressions; thou gavest thy blessed Son for my redemption; and that such redemption offered on the cross for me, might not be fruitless, thou hast sent this affliction to call me to repentance, and to make me inwardly consider and behold that Saviour whom my accursed sins have nailed to the cross and pierced to the heart.

"From my childhood to my declined age thou hast made use of all thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me a sinner to amendment and obedience; but alas! how hitherto have they been in vain? Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich; thou broughtest me into dangers, and gavest me deliverance—leddest me into exile, and broughtest me home with honour; and yet none of thy dispensations have had natural or reasonable effect upon me: they have

been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. So that, if in thy infinite mercy thou wilt yet make any further experiment upon me, and not leave me to myself, the most heavy of all judgments, what can I expect, but that afflictions should be accumulated till my gray hairs be brought with sorrow to the grave! This, O Lord, is my portion, and it is justly due to me: I lay my mouth in the dust, and humbly submit to it; yet, gracious God, give me leave with comfort to remember that thy mercy is infinite, and over all thy works. In that mercy, and merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, look upon me; turn thy face to me, and thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart; let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even yet broken by heavier calamities: however, at last return, O Lord, and heal me, and leave a blessing behind thee: the blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment; the blessing of fervent devotion, of universal obedience to thy holy laws, and of unshaken perseverance in the ways of thee my God.

“This I beg in the name, and for the sake of the all-sufficient sacrifice and merits of my blessed Redeemer, in the words he hath left us to pray.”

During his stay in Ireland, it also happened that his third son, lord John, was married to the lady Ann Chichester, heiress to the earl of Donegal. He was created earl of Gowran; but died in the following year, owing to disease contracted by the excesses of his youth. While he was in his last illness, the duke wrote him a letter, which the bishop of Worcester described to Carte as one of the finest specimens of moral and christian remonstrance he had ever seen. He had, however, unfortunately lost the copy of it, which he had been unable to obtain. In relation to the dissolute habits of the same young lord, a *mot* of the duke is preserved. A friend of the duke's family had built a chapel, and had solicited among his acquaintances for contributions of an ornamental nature, to set off the interior. When Mr Cottington visited the duke, he told him of his son's munificent gift of the ten commandments, for the altar-piece. The duke observed, in reply, “he can readily part with things that he does not care to keep himself.”

The duke's retirement was at last to receive a temporary interruption; and whether reluctantly or not, he was doomed to be once more involved in the turmoil of affairs. The situation of the king was becoming involved in perplexity. He was by nature, and by the principles he held, unfit for the time: his religious persuasion placed him in a false position. Secretly pledged to one line of action, and to the support of one interest, he was loudly called on by the voice of Europe, and by the expectation of England, to pursue an opposite course and take a different part. He was, rather by the revolutions of European politics than by his own power, called on to act as the arbiter of the Continent; and his people expected that he should support the protestant interest. The heart of England was with the Prince of Orange, who was universally regarded as the champion of protestantism throughout Europe; while, on the other hand, Charles and his brother, the duke of York, were by every tie bound to the king of France. The king was slowly and reluctantly compelled to give way to his parliament, which he endeavoured to cajole; and some disgraceful and unconstitutional pro-

ceedings took place, during which a breach occurred between him and his minion, Buckingham, who was beginning to wax too licentious in his insolence, and too extravagant and dangerous in his freakish politics, to be easily endured by one who knew his baseness, and had only countenanced him for his companionable vices. In the midst of the perplexities of this busy period, the affairs of Ireland became troublesome, and the king felt himself compelled to have recourse to the duke of Ormonde.

The Norwich frigate was ordered to Waterford for the duke, and he, though beginning to feel the necessity of quiet to his bodily health, could not refuse to obey. It was indeed, he felt, a critical moment for the protestant interests, and his presence was wanting. At first, indeed, on his arrival in London, he was disappointed to find that the king, whose temper was the weathercock which shifted with every breath of persuasion, had in that short interval fallen into a relapse of his usual feebleness: he seemed to have been sent for to be treated with neglect. He was thinking of a return to Ireland, when he was again sent for, and his advice asked on the affairs of Ireland. The principal subject to be discussed was a question on the farming of the revenue: there were two undertakers, Mr George Pitt and viscount Ranelagh; Ranelagh had been under great obligations to the duke of Ormonde, but coming over from Ireland, he joined the cabal against him. He made such representations to the king, that he obtained a contract for the management of the Irish revenue, in consequence of which great discontents were soon excited in Ireland. The people and the king soon found reason to complain; and it was thought that lord Ranelagh alone was not a loser by the contract. When the duke's advice was asked, he exposed in detail the sufferings of the Irish people, and the frauds of the undertakers. Ranelagh, irritated by such an exposure, and fearing for his suit, made a long speech at the board; in the course of which he observed, that for a period of ten years before his undertaking, the revenue had been very much mismanaged: this he repeated so often, and coupled it with so many insinuations, that the duke insisted upon his being compelled to explain himself. For this purpose he was ordered to attend at a board held for the purpose. The king was himself present, when the following conversation took place. After the lord-keeper informed lord Ranelagh that he was summoned to explain certain expressions which seemed to involve reflections upon the conduct of the duke of Ormonde: lord Ranelagh answered:—"My purpose was not to reflect on my lord of Ormonde, or any body else; but to give his majesty a state of his affairs, as they stood before my undertaking.

"Duke of Ormonde.—But your lordship was pleased to name often the word mismanagement; and if that related to the time that I governed, it must reflect upon me, and I am willing to give your lordship all manner of provocation, to speak plain in that particular.

"Lord Ranelagh.—I named nobody, but the things themselves will lead to the persons. I am content what I said be referred to a committee for examination. For if I said your majesty's affairs were mismanaged, it was true, and it plainly so appeared to your majesty, by

what I said; and I say so again, that the management was as bad as possibly could be.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I am of opinion with that noble lord, that the things themselves will find out the persons; and I also join issue with him in the expedient of a committee, and pray your majesty, that matters be transacted in writing, that what is alleged on either side may be more liable to this examination. For, I think long accounts use not to be stated by an oration; and that in such a discourse when well studied and long thought on, there may as well be conveyed in it a libel as a vindication.

"Lord Ranelagh."—My lord, I think short speeches may contain as much libel in them as long ones.

"Duke of Ormonde."—But, Sir, I desire to hear it laid to my charge, that I mismanaged your affairs. That is the thing still insinuated, though not said; and therefore I must challenge the proof of that mismanagement, or charge the informer with untruth.

"Lord Ranelagh."—Sir, I thought this had not been a place for such expressions; and I shall here find myself at some disadvantage.

"The king."—No, no,—untruth—that—

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I said untruth; and there is no man whatever, who exceeds me not in quality, to whom I will not say the same, till his proofs do show the contrary. My lord was pleased to say, he named no man; but by experience of his lordship's dealings towards me, I have sufficient motives to keep me from imagining he meant any one else: and yet I presume to think, that for the time of my management there, I can show your majesty as fair accounts as any man whatsoever. And pray, my lord, since you will not name the persons, what are the things you call this mismanagement?

"Lord Ranelagh."—Sir, I call that mismanagement, when your majesty's revenue, that is intended for the public, and to the payment of your majesty's establishment civil and military, shall be diverted by private warrants, contrary to instructions, and your army thereby be left so shamefully in arrear.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, if my lord can name any one private warrant issued to my proper advantage, or by my own authority, let him name it.

"Lord Ranelagh."—No, my lord, I cannot say that such warrants were to your own advantage; but I say that the private interest in such things was preferred to the public.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Why then, my lord, since you will not name one of that kind, I will; and that was a warrant to pay your lordship £1000, which was, I am sure, not to my account, but to your own. However, you brought a warrant from his majesty, who did command it, and I gave obedience.

"Lord Ranelagh."—I confess I had £1000, but it was in part of a greater debt due to my father, and all that I had for fifteen years' service.

"Duke of Ormonde."—Sir, I am well content that all these matters be referred to the examination of a committee, and I pray you give your commands to the lord Ranelagh, to put all in writing.

"*Lord Ranelagh.*—I am ready to do so whenever your majesty commands."

His lordship being withdrawn, the lord-keeper said, surely to give obedience to your majesty's commands is no mismanagement, nor ought to be reputed as such. Whereupon it was ordered that lord Ranelagh should give in a state of the fact, and the particulars of the mismanagement for the ten years before his undertaking.

Lord Ranelagh continued to spin out the time in various delays, for several months, but was at length compelled on an application from the duke to bring forth his statement. It was replied to by the duke, in a paper of considerable length, and remarkable clearness and ability.* On a full investigation of both statements before the council, the king declared the duke's statement to be perfectly satisfactory. On this head, it only remains to be added, that on the subsequent examination of lord Ranelagh's own accounts, they were not found so clear from fault, as the result was a decree against him for £76,000, and he was only enabled to escape the consequences by obtaining the king's pardon.

The discussion was in the highest degree serviceable to Ireland, as it placed before the king and council a most plain and perspicuous view of Irish affairs, and enabled them to perceive the selfish intrigues of which that kingdom had been the principal victim, with the comparative merits and demerits of the parties by whom they had been carried on; and lastly, the conspicuous integrity and wisdom of the entire conduct of the duke of Ormonde. This result was soon apparent: in the month of April, 1677, the king, who for a year had avoided speaking to the duke, sent a message that he would come and sup with him. He came accordingly: the entertainment was costly, and the conversation was gay, unrestrained and cordial; but all passed without the slightest allusion to political affairs, until the king was departing, when he signified to the duke his design to employ him again in Ireland, for the government of which he publicly declared him to be the fittest person. Of this indeed every one was fully sensible, insomuch that nothing but the baneful influence of court intrigues and interests had prevented the fact from being sooner recognised. But a court intrigue was now in effect the means of removing the obstruction which had so long withheld the king from doing justice. The duke of York, who hated the duke of Ormonde for his protestant zeal, was now alarmed by an endeavour to obtain the government of Ireland for the duke of Monmouth, whose intrigues to be declared heir to the throne of England might in the event become formidable. To avert this consequence, all other sacrifices of prejudice were slight, and none but a person of the first talent and integrity, whose appointment would satisfy the nation and arrest the expectation of the bastard prince, could be relied upon. Under this sense the duke of York not only withdrew his opposition, but it is thought lent himself warmly to the appointment of one whose character he respected, and in whose stanch and untainted honesty and firmness he had the fullest confidence.

The duke of Ormonde set out for Ireland in the beginning of August. On his way he stopped at Oxford, and was splendidly received and

* This will be found in Carte, II. 454.

entertained by the university, as its chancellor.* He had deferred his arrival until after commencements; as it was feared that he might be pressed to give degrees to many persons of rank in his train, whose pretensions were not acceptable to the university. Though the usual time was past, and the ceremonial of commencements over, many were urgent in soliciting for the honour of a degree; but the duke only created twenty doctors, one of whom was his son, the earl of Arran, and the viscounts Galmoy and Longford, Robert Fitz-Gerald a son of the earl of Kildare, and some other gentlemen of high rank, all being of his own immediate retinue.

The earl of Essex had received permission to consult his own choice, as to the manner of resigning the government; and his conduct was complimentary to his successor. He would in any other case have delivered the regalia to the lords-justices; but as he wrote in his letter of April 28th—"since his majesty hath been pleased to pitch upon a person who had so much experience in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so eminent for his loyalty, this made him stay till his grace should arrive, that he might himself put the sword into his hand:" he not only remained for the duke's arrival, but himself ordered the ceremonies with which he was to be received.

The duke had upon former occasions suffered so much vexation on account of the frauds which had been committed by those who had been entrusted with the revenue departments, that he now made it his special care to endeavour to detect and control all malversations of this description. For this purpose the king's instructions were so framed as to bring all orders concerning grants, money, the releasing or abating of agents on crown debts, under the control of English officers, after being submitted to the investigation of the lord-lieutenant. So that he was no longer liable to be made answerable for mismanagement, neglect or fraud, which he had no power to control. Other arrangements of the like effectual nature were made to guard against the alienation of any part of the revenue, until the civil and military establishments should first be fully provided for. And by these, and a variety of wise provisions and precautions suggested or adopted by the duke, the army was brought into condition, and the whole establishment rendered efficient and economical.

During the three years which it required to effect these great and beneficial changes, the duke managed to effect many public improvements: he laid the foundation of the military hospital near Kilmainham, and built Charlesfort to secure the harbour of Kinsale. Every fort in the kingdom was in ruin, and the expenses necessary to put the country into a state of defence were found, on accurate inspection, to be so far beyond any means at his command, that he considered it advisable to call a parliament. Many evils were to be remedied, and many abuses in the settlements of property to be corrected, to quiet the apprehensions of the public, and repress the progress of an oppressive and exasperating chicanery on the pretence of commissions of inquiry; and the king assented to the duke's wish; but the explosion of that vile conspiracy, known by the name of the popish plot, broke out, and for a time put a stop to every other proceeding.

* Carte, II. 46.

The difficulties into which the duke was thus thrown were not inconsiderable. The impression produced by the belief of this imposture in Ireland was likely to affect two opposite parties: there were those who would be but too ready to enter with alacrity into any disaffected action; and there were those who would give way to suspicion and terror, and exert the utmost of their influence to carry precaution to the extreme of unjust severity. Against both the duke had to guard: he took effectual means of prevention and restraint, without resorting to any harshness; and by his mild, though firm precautions, completely kept off the dangerous infection of that spurious conspiracy—the most strange compound of insane credulity and infamous perjury that stains the records of history.

In the course of these proceedings, which demand no tedious detail, the duke did not altogether escape from the usual efforts of his enemies to calumniate him, and of violent political parties to influence his conduct according to their views. He held his course, unmoved by any petty influences or considerations, carrying progressively into effect such measures as tended to strengthen the security and the commercial interests of the country. He held an even balance without giving licence to the Romish persuasion, or lessening the security of the church of England: and so far was this spirit of moderation carried in opposition to the clamour of missionaries of every persuasion, that he was alternately accused on the opposite allegations of being a protestant, or a popish governor, as best suited the design of the opposing party: as he has himself remarked in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell:—"It hath been my fortune, upon several occasions, to be taken by the papists to be their greatest enemy, when it was thought that character would have done me the greatest hurt: and sometimes to be their greatest friend, when that would hurt me:" further on in the same letter, he writes in reference to the rumours of conspiracy against his life, by which it was constantly endeavoured to influence him; "it seems now to be the papists' turn to endeavour to despatch me; the other non-conformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I am and may be in, is a perquisite belonging to the place I am in; and so much envied for being in; but I will not be frighted into a resignation, and will be found alive or dead in it, till the same hand that placed me shall remove me. I know well that I am born with some disadvantages, in relation to the present conjuncture, besides my natural weakness and infirmities; and such as I can no more free myself from, than I can from them. My father lived and died a papist; and only I, by God's merciful providence, was educated in the true protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope, that though their changes happened to be always on the prosperous side, yet they were made by the force of present conviction. My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful, and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way; their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their ob-

stinacy hath made it altogether popish. It would be no small comfort to me, if it had pleased God, it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good, and serve them, more effectually to them, and more safely to myself. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and also by instruction, that difference in opinion concerning matters of religion dissolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own not only that I have done, but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion all the good I can. But I profess at the same time, that if I find any of them who are nearest to me acting or conspiring rebellion, or plotting against the government and the religion established amongst us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger to my blood. I know professions of this kind are easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited; but I claim some belief from my known practice, having been so unfortunate as to have had my kinsmen in rebellion; and so fortunate as to see some of them when I commanded in chief. Those that remain have, I hope, changed their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, I am sure they shall not find I have changed mine."

At this period lord Shaftesbury, who was among the most violent and dangerous enemies of the duke of Ormonde, suddenly changed his party, and with them, in some measure, his grounds of hostility. For a time he was engaged in the interests of the court, and exerted his whole talent and zeal for the establishment of arbitrary power, and the unconstitutional extension of the prerogative. While thus engaged, it was his aim, as it had been that of the most licentious and unsteady, but not more unprincipled Buckingham, to unseat the duke of Ormonde, from the mere desire to obtain the lieutenancy of Ireland and his place in the court: and being himself without any religion, he made it his business to represent the duke as the enemy of toleration, and as the persecutor of the Romish church. But the king having made concessions to the Commons, which impressed him with a conviction that the line of policy he had pursued must not only fail, but eventually lead to consequences dangerous to those by whom it had been promoted and pursued, Shaftesbury at once changed sides, and with a versatility at which no one was surprised, for his character was thoroughly known, adopted the opinions and embraced the courses to which he had been most diametrically opposed: he gave most unconcernedly the lie to his whole life, in such a manner as would stamp his memory with disgrace, were it not in some measure rescued by the lax morality among the statesmen of every age. By the change he was transferred into better company, and engaged in a course more honourable and beneficial in its ends, though his motives continued as base, and the means he pursued neither more honest nor more wise. He remained as much the enemy of the duke of Ormonde as before: and as he had from the court side, endeavoured to stigmatize him as the enemy of the papists, from that of the country party he accused him of being their friend. By his violence, his daring courses, and unscrupulous assertions, he gained upon the fiery zeal and the party prejudice of the people and the house, and gained an ascendant which made him dangerous to his personal opponents, and formidable to the court. Considering the duke of Ormonde

as a main obstacle to the great design of promoting an insurrection in Ireland, he strained every nerve not only to raise a strong party against him, but to collect sufficient complaints to form articles of impeachment. He made a speech in the lords' house, in which he cast out several insinuations to the effect that the duke of Ormonde was in favour of the papists, than which no charge could at the moment be more injurious. He was replied to by lord Ossory, in a speech which attracted great celebrity, and was compelled to retract his base and unwarranted calumnies.

The duke, on learning of these movements among his enemies, pressed strongly for leave to return to England. "I am now," he writes to the secretary, "come to an age so fit for retirement, that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family." But the king was about to dissolve the parliament, and saw no reason why the duke should leave Ireland at a moment so critical. The earl of Arlington having mentioned to him the report that the duke was to be removed, he told him, "it was a damned lie, and that he was satisfied while he was there, that the kingdom was safe." He added that "the new ministry were for jostling out his old faithful servants, and that while the duke of Ormonde lived, he should never be put out of that government."

The object of Shaftesbury and his party, with regard to Ireland, was mainly to contrive an insurrection; and for this purpose they set on foot every spring of action they could grasp. They were unprincipled men, who had mainly their own private interests at heart; but it would be unfair to confound a small cabal of political adventurers with the large and respectable body by whom they were supported; like the leaders of every party in every age, whose views are their own, but their strength is the public feeling, which they are compelled to serve and not unwilling to betray, if treachery will serve their ends better than good faith. Justice is due to the party, however we may estimate the partisan. The duke of York's religion at the time was the subject of great anxiety to the English public. Nor was it less the subject of apprehension to all those who were attached to the royal family. Should the duke succeed to the throne, the worst consequences were generally apprehended to the church and protestant interests of the kingdom: with more justice it was to be apprehended, that disaffection and revolutionary action would be likely to set in, to an extent dangerous to the throne. The duke alone, infatuated, rash, bigoted, and without judgment, unconscious of the real dangers by which he was surrounded, only thought to avail himself of a favourable juncture to increase the power of the crown, and to prepare the way for the greater changes of which he contemplated the execution. This feeble and narrow-minded prince did not despair of effecting a revolution in favour of his own church; and, availing him of the increasing indolence of the king, whose chief concern was the lethargic luxury of the sensual stye, to which he had converted the British court, he became alert and busy in the management of public affairs. The consequence was a strong underworking of a most dangerous reaction, to the increase and diffusion of which even those recent plots and exposures which appeared to give an advantage to the court party in reality contributed. Though

the suspicion of popish plots had been made ridiculous, and persecution hateful, and though a surface feeling of loyalty had been excited, yet the real feelings of the British public had been measured and weighed; the public attention had been excited by questions dangerous in principle and tendency; and it was made apparent to the clear-eyed and sagacious whose position enabled them to see what was working up in the councils of every party, that there must shortly be a trial of strength unfavourable to the court, perhaps fatal to the crown, still more probably to the reigning prince. Of this party, the unprincipled Shaftesbury was now the ostensible leader. However respectable was the party to which he owed his strength, the means which he adopted were worthy of himself: to produce confusion in Ireland, all the most flagitious expedients, suborned informations, pretended plots and insidious suggestions were resorted to for the purpose of compelling the duke of Ormonde to quit his impartial and all-protecting and governing policy, and to adopt that same fatal train of oppressive measures, by which Parsons and his colleagues brought on the worst consequences of the great rebellion in Ireland. And when these efforts failed to hurry the duke of Ormonde a step out of the line of moderation, humanity, and justice, in which he governed both parties without deferring to the fears or prejudices of either; a new course was adopted, and a successive train of manœuvres was put in practice, for the twofold purpose of carrying the plans of the faction which now headed the country party into effect without the duke of Ormonde's consent; and eventually forcing him to resign. With this view they proposed to remodel the privy council in Ireland, so as thus to secure such nominations as should effectually place the administration of that country in their own hands. This the king refused to permit. They then procured evidences of a plot, which went no farther than the oppression of some individuals, and shall be noticed hereafter, so far as its importance merits.

The death of the gallant earl of Ossory taking place during these annoyances, was a deep affliction, as well as a heavy prejudice to the duke. His spirit and eloquence had much contributed to repress the personal direction of their hostilities, and his death now gave an impulse to their virulence. In about three weeks after, they began to make interest for his removal, and held a consultation upon the fittest person to succeed him: there was a warm contention between the lords Essex and Halifax, which divided the party, which, however, at last agreed in favour of Essex. But this cabal had no immediate result: the king was for the moment determined to support the duke against a faction which he considered hostile to the throne. Their premature violence soon involved themselves in danger, and gave a triumph to the court. The earl of Shaftesbury began to boast openly of his expectations of a triumph over the court, and made use of unguarded expressions against the duke of York, of whom, among other things, he said "he would make him as great a vagabond on the earth as Cain." The king's party meanwhile were not wanting to themselves in a contest of deception and fraud: there was no resource too unworthy for their honour, or too base for their dignity. As Shaftesbury had fabricated a popish conspiracy, so the wisdom of the royal councils brought forth a protestant plot. It is not indeed easy to imagine a more unsafe

experiment, at a moment when protestant England was labouring from shore to shore with silent and suppressed indignation and apprehension. But it served an immediate end: Shaftesbury was accused and sent to the Tower, and his papers seized. A strong contest of subornation prepared the way for his trial; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the court, and the rashness of his language and conduct, nothing could be proved against him on sufficient evidence: there was an unsigned paper containing a plan for the government of the kingdom, by which the king was to become entirely governed by the councils of Lord Shaftesbury, but it was not sufficiently authenticated to satisfy a jury which was selected by the sheriffs, who were in favour of the accused. He was tried upon suborned information, and acquitted by a packed jury, yet the publication of the trial impressed the public mind with a strong sense of his guilt, and of the reality of the conspiracy, and contributed very much to the triumph of the king's party.

In the mean time, the ferment which had been raised by the machinations of Shaftesbury's faction in Ireland subsided, as their influence declined: and the duke was desired to come over to England for a short time. He appointed lord Arran his deputy, and left Dublin about the middle of April, 1682. He was received in London with enthusiasm, being met by so many persons of distinction, that "no spectator could have imagined that the king and court were absent: he was attended in this entry by twenty-seven coaches with six horses, and three hundred gentlemen on horseback, with five of the king's trumpets, &c."*

In November the same year, the duke was advanced to the rank of duke in the English peerage,† by king Charles, on the express ground of having preserved tranquillity in Ireland, during the ferment caused by the popish plot. On this occasion, a question arose, whether the duke could retain the title of Ormonde, which he was reluctant to give up, there being in England no territory bearing that name. It was, however, decided by Sir William Dugdale, that as titles were no longer territorial, a peer might be designated as he pleased.

The marriage of his grandson, the young earl of Ossory, took place at this time. Several matches had been proposed, and were on different grounds rejected by the duke. But the duke of York proposed a match for the young earl with Miss Hyde, daughter of the earl of Rochester, to which all parties gave a ready assent, and the young couple were married.

The principal reason for sending for the duke is so interwoven with a multiplicity of small details of the perplexed party-maneuvres which have exclusive reference to English history, that we cannot here enter upon them in such a manner as would be satisfactory to the reader, who, if curious, will find a great deal of minute detail in Burnet and other contemporary writers. The violence of the party-contest had overblown, and the court was allowed to pursue its intrigues in comparative quiet; but within its bosom there were too many anxious oppositions of feeling and interest for quiet. The king's ministers kept him on the stretch by their contentions; and it was perhaps felt that the anxious and dangerous question about the succession, though it might be suppressed, was yet too deeply bound up with seri-

* Carte, II. 519.

† Note in Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

ous and awakening emergencies and difficulties, to be set at rest for more than a short interval. The very triumphs which had been attained, were such as to ascertain the true state of national feeling in every part of the kingdom, to all who considered the probabilities in the case of the king's death. The king's entire want of principle would, during his life, prevent the collision that was to be sooner or later expected. Free from obstinacy, as he was devoid of all fixed principle, he could, when perils appeared to menace his conduct, unblushingly retrace his steps: content if in the strife he could secure the means to pursue his pleasures and satisfy the rapacity of his mistresses. The duke was ascertained to be a tyrant, devoid of all the restraints of equity or humanity, resolute in his opinions, and, as his conduct in Scotland had shown, fully capable of adopting the utmost stretches of despotism, to maintain their authority. With these elements of disorder, fermenting in its recesses, the court was agitated with internal apprehensions and divisions, the result of which was that while all breathed the sentiments of devotion to the king, and of subjection to the more decided will of the duke, there was a strong sense of insecurity felt by both: and their whole conduct exhibits the fact that, with the exception of the small and not very efficient party who were known to participate in their secret designs, there was no one upon whom they could implicitly rely. Under such doubtful circumstances, a nobleman whom all honest men had ever respected, and who was known alike for his integrity and loyalty, was naturally looked to as one who might be a trust-worthy sentinel in an hour of concealed danger: and the duke of Ormonde, avoided and shrunk from in the time of strength and safety, was now as ever, sought when the ground was uncertain and unsafe. The circumstances are such as, from their nature, cannot have found their way into the historic page; but we should infer, from the king's naturally shrewd and sagacious character, with his growing love of security and ease, taken with the excessively violent demonstrations shown by the duke, to secure his own succession at this time that the king did not feel himself either as safe or as free as he would have desired. It is as apparent that the duke must have felt that there was great danger of his being set aside by a slight turn of that secret contest of intrigue, which is known to have been carried on. While the king would, under such feelings, rely on the old and tried good faith of Ormonde to himself, the duke would with equal confidence look to him as one who could not be warped into disloyalty.

We are more particularly desirous to impress these suggestions, because a modern historian of such respectability as Leland appears to consider his conduct at this time as less creditable to Ormonde. We are far from considering it as matter for eulogy, but we see in it nothing to detract from his reputation. One of the errors of that period of our history—an error never dissipated till the revolution, was that of considering loyalty as a paramount duty, as sacred as a knight's honour or a lady's chastity. The duke had been not only trained in this principle, and maintained it at the expense of fortune and the risk of life, but he had been most particularly exercised in it in times of great trial, in the adversity of a prince for whom he had made every sacrifice. There were, it is true, before him, and even then, those who

acted according to a juster principle; but of these the former really acted from factious motives: and as to the latter, they belonged to a later generation; their knowledge was a fruit of experience. The duke was an aged man, and acted upon the principles of his life: he did not anticipate any disastrous consequences to the church, but he saw the danger which menaced the succession, and, as on former occasions, he thought it right first to secure the interests of the crown. He knew well the real strength of protestantism in England, and had no fear for it. He only saw the approach of a dangerous revolution, and could not conjecture those fortunate results which are now the cant of school-boy declamations. To this must be added, that Leland, whose usual candour does not fail him even when he is unjust, acquits the duke of Ormonde of all participation or privity in the real and final designs of the king and duke of York: and of this the proof is indeed full and conclusive. Under such circumstances, though now in the last stage of his declining years, he exerted his mind and body to support, and at the same time moderate the councils of Charles, and guided him through more perplexity and difficulty than can be fully known, unless from the fact that the king kept him in close attendance, and would move in nothing without his counsel. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the king on his way from Newmarket to London, led to measures of great but necessary harshness: in these the duke had no part, but they add to the unpopularity of this period and reign, and seem to cast a reflection on all its actors; but, however profligate the court, and however unprincipled and dangerous to civil liberty were its designs, conspirators and assassins merit the penalty of the law. The discovery of the Ryehouse plot completed the triumph of the court: but the struggle of private intrigues did not cease until the king's death, which there is abundant reason to believe was the eventual result of their intrigues.

In February, 1683, during his residence in England, the duke had a violent and dangerous attack of fever, which his physicians pronounced to be dangerous, but from which he recovered; he was consequently in a weak condition for a long time. He was beginning to enjoy his usual vigour and spirits, when he received the disagreeable intelligence that the castle of Dublin had taken fire, and that some of his family had been in danger. The fire was considered to have proceeded from a beam which passed beneath one of the fire-places; this having taken fire, communicated it to the entire building. The accident is still one of frequent occurrence in old houses, and it is probable that the fire was slowly collecting force for several days under the floor during the gradual ignition of the beam. The danger was increased by the vicinity of a powder magazine; and as the means of suppressing conflagration were then far more ineffectual than now, the consternation was very great. The earl of Arran was the first who discovered this accident, and it is attributed to his great exertion, presence of mind, and skill, that it was overcome. The principal means to which he had recourse seem to have been by gunpowder, with which he arrested the communication of the flames, by blowing up the walls wherever they were advancing. The duke's loss was very great; but the circumstance led to the re-edification of the castle on a more commodious plan.

It was now, at the end of two years of continued absence, considered

necessary for the duke to return to his government. Useful as his counsels had been to the king, there was a limit to their utility; zealous as he was to guard the prerogative, and still to resist all plans likely to endanger the succession, there was a further aim in all the proceedings of the duke of York, which made it impossible to repose a whole confidence in the duke of Ormonde. As the intrigues concerning the succession became more deep, it became evident to the heir apparent that he might be compelled to have recourse to steps which would be rendered difficult, by the presence of one so firm and sagacious as the duke of Ormonde. And as it was the design of the infatuated prince to pursue that very course of measures which eventually led to his deposition, he was, to the utmost extent which the discretion of the king and the wisdom of Ormonde would countenance, already endeavouring to pave the way for his objects. As he advanced, or considered it expedient to advance, to farther lengths, it became absolutely essential to get rid of the duke of Ormonde. The king's affairs therefore being in a prosperous state, and the duke's requiring his absence rather than his presence, the duke of Ormonde was sent back to Ireland. It was on this occasion that he composed the following prayer after his arrival:—

August 31st, 1684.

“O thou who art a most righteous judge—who neither despisest the meaneſt for their poverty nor acceptest the moſt powerful for their power—make me always to remember and ſeriously to conſider, that as all thoſe outward privileges I enjoy among men are by thee beſtowed upon me out of thy goodneſs, ſo none of them can exempt me from thy juſtice, but that I ſhall one day be brought to answer for all I have done in the fleſh, and in particular for the uſe or miſuſe I have made of thoſe peculiar advantages whereby it hath pleaſed thee to diſtinguiſh me from others; more eſpecially in the neglect of thoſe means and opportunities thou haſt put into my hands, either to perform my duty to thee my God, or elſe my king, my country, my family, my relations, and neighbours; or even to the whole people who have been committed to my care and ſubjected to my authority. O let the remembrance and continual thought of this and of thy favours now at length awaken me, to a cheerful and careful employing of all I have received from thee to thoſe ends for which they were given by thee. Lord grant that the experience, and that meaſure of knowledge thou haſt endowed me with, may have ſuch an efficacy on my practice that they may help to advance ſalvation, and aggravate ſins or guilt to my condemnation. I confeſs, O Lord, I have often been more elevated, and taken more pride in the ſplendour of the ſtation thou haſt placed me in, than in conſidering that it came from thy bounty and providence. I have often been leſs careful than I ought to diſcharge the truſt committed to me with that diligence and circumſpection and conſcientiouſneſs which the weight and importance of ſuch a truſt required. Nay, on the contrary, I have been vain, ſlothful, and careleſs; vain of my ſlender performances, ſlothful in not employing my talent to diſcover and execute juſtice, to the puniſhment of wickedneſs and vice, to the maintenance of virtue and religion, and to the relieving and delivering the poor, the innocent, and the oppreſſed. Nay, ſo

careless have I been of my own carriage and conduct, that by my ill example, and in compliance with a corrupt and intemperate life, I have drawn others into vanity, sinfulness, and guilt. Lord, of thy infinite mercy pardon these provoking sins of mine; and pardon the sins of those I have been the means of drawing into sin by my example, or for want of that advice, admonishment, or caution which it was in my power, as it was in my duty, to have administered. And, Lord, out of the same infinite mercy grant that for the time to come I may in some measure redeem the errors and failings of my past life, and of all these crying sins; and this not only by a hearty and prevailing repentance and a careful circumspection over all my ways and actions hereafter, but by a diligent attendance on thy service, and by a vigilant administration of the power and trust which is committed unto me. 'Tis hereby alone that I shall be enabled to render a good account of my stewardship and become capable of thy mercy, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ."

Among the questions connected with this period of his history, the principal was relative to the calling a parliament in Ireland. Several reasons rendered this an expedient step, but it was opposed in council by the duke of York, on very insufficient objections, but really on the ground that two several bills had been transmitted against the Roman catholics. Those bills were however unjust and inexpedient, and framed during the ferment of the popish plot, by the parliamentary faction for the purpose of exasperating the Irish. The pretence was the popish plot, and the purpose to turn the popish lords out of the Irish parliament, and to inflict death upon a certain class of their clergy.

The year 1684 was rendered melancholy to the duke by the death of the duchess, with whom he had lived in the greatest affection for the period of fifty-four years. She had for some time been in a declining condition, and her death had been expected on the previous autumn. On that occasion she went to Bath on the pretext of taking the waters, but really to save the duke from the aggravated shock which she thought her death would communicate if it were to occur in his presence. She however recovered then, to the general surprise, but was again taken ill, and died in July, 1684, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. As the short memoir with which Carte alone accompanies his mention of her death is, for many reasons, interesting, we shall here extract some passages for the reader. "The duchess of Ormonde was a tall, straight, well made woman, finely formed, but not a beauty. She was a person of very good sense, great goodness, and of a noble undaunted spirit, fit to struggle with the difficulties of the world, and perfectly qualified to pass through the great vicissitudes of fortune which attended her in the course of her life. She had an excellent capacity, which made her mistress of everything to which she applied her mind; and her judgment of the affairs of the world, and of the nature and consequences of things, was admirable. She understood all sorts of business, in which it came in her way to be concerned, perfectly well, and wrote upon them with clearness of expression and strength of comprehension. Not a superfluous or improper word appearing in her longest letters, closely written, and filling a whole sheet of paper. The earl of Holland, whose ward she was, had taken very

little care of her education, and had not so much as made her be taught to write, but she learned it of herself, by copying after print ; for which reason she never joined her letters together."

The duchess was highly in the favour and esteem of queen Catherine, who, in the year 1682, made her a very extraordinary present of a collar, made up of her own and the king's pictures, and, in the middle between them, three large and fine diamonds, valued at £2500. The pictures were the same that had been sent and exchanged mutually by their majesties before their marriage. The duke, after his grandson's marriage with the lady Mary Somerset, made a present of this collar to that lady, who kept it till her husband's estate was seized after the revolution, at the time of king James's being in Ireland, when she consented to sell it for their subsistence. The duchess of Ormonde was the first person that, upon the duke of York's marriage with the daughter of the earl of Clarendon being declared, waited upon the duchess, and kneeling down, kissed her hand. But she was very stiff with regard to the king's mistresses; and would never wait on the duchess of Cleveland, who in return never forgave that slight. She observed the same conduct towards the duchess of Portsmouth, though this lady always showed and expressed the greatest regard for her, as well as to the duke of Ormonde, and came frequently to visit her grace. She was still more strict on this point with regard to her grand-daughters, whom she seemed to instruct, not so much as to admit of visits from ladies of such a character. Thus, one day in 1682, when she was in a house that the duke had taken near the court, which was then at Windsor, the duchess of Portsmouth sent word she would come and dine with her. This notice was no sooner received than her grace of Ormonde sent away her grand-daughters, the lady Anne Stanhope, afterwards countess of Strathmore, the lady Emilia Butler, and her sister, to London for that day, to be out of the way, so that there was nobody at table but the two duchesses and the present bishop of Worcester, who was then domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormonde. Such was the decorum of conduct observed in those days, when there was licentiousness enough at court, by ladies of merit who valued their character and best understood their own dignity, as well as what was due in good manners to others. It is the duty of everybody to discountenance habitual and presumptuous vice; a duty which none but those who secretly approve it, or are mean enough, for sordid and unworthy ends, to court the subject of it when clothed with power, find any reluctance to discharge. There is certainly a measure of civility to be paid to everybody, without regard to their moral conduct; but friendship, acquaintance, intercourse, and respect, are only due to virtue; and, in ordinary cases, are seldom given but to persons that are liked.

If the Duchess of Ormonde had any fault, it was the height of her spirit, which put her upon doing everything in a noble and magnificent manner, without any regard to the expense. When the king sent the duke word, as has been formerly mentioned, that he would come to sup with him, she resolved to provide a fine entertainment. She consulted about it with Mr. James Clarke, a person of good sense, very careful, and of great goodness and probity, who, as steward, had

the ordering of everything within the house, and was a generous man in his nature—loved to do things handsomely, and understood it well, but was still for taking care of the main chance. He thought several things might be spared which her grace proposed; but she insisting on her own purpose, told him, “she had a very good opinion of him, and thought he understood every thing within his own sphere, but, says she, you must have the same opinion of me, and allow me likewise to understand what is fittest for me in my own sphere.” That supper cost £2000, an expense she did not value on this, and was apt to run into on other occasions where it seemed proper to show magnificence. The duke knowing her inclination, never interfered in such cases, though he felt the inconvenience thereof, and his debts were thereby much increased. When she set about building Dunmore, intending to make it her residence in case she should survive the duke, for she said Kilkenny castle ought always to belong to the head of the family, she laid out vast sums of money in that building. Cary Dillon, walking with his grace and others on the leads of that castle, from whence there is a fine view of the country about, and particularly of the house and park of Dunmore, made a pun upon that place, saying to the duke of Ormonde, “Your grace has done much here, pointing to Kilkenny, but yonder you have *Done more*.” “Alas, Cary!” replied the duke, “it is incredible what that has cost; but my wife has done so much to that house, that she has almost undone me.”

The affliction of this loss determined the duke’s resolution to retire from public life. “It was in August after,” writes Southwell, “that I met his grace at Aylesbury on his way for Ireland, where, deploring the loss of his excellent consort and long companion, he said, that business which was otherwise grown irksome to him, was now his best remedy for the whole day; but at night when he was left alone to think of his loss, the time was very grievous unto him.” Under the impression of the desolate feeling here described to his friend, the duke formed the intention to give one year to active business before his retirement from public life. His determinations of retirement were, however, anticipated by the projects of the court. The duke of York began to see that, in the struggle for the ascendancy of his religion, he would find it necessary to commence with Ireland, where his church was unquestionably strong, and where an aspect of right would be imparted to changes which he was bent on carrying independent of such a consideration. Such was the actual ground of his recall; but the supposed pretexes were then, perhaps, various: his enemies began to plot against him from the very moment of his departure; and the duke himself, we think, not being fully aware of the secret machinery that was at work, attributed this change to the machinations of Talbot and others. A scheme was formed by which, under the pretence of a commission of grace, a narrow inspection of titles was intended to be instituted, with a view to deprive protestants of their possessions. To such a measure the firm opposition of the duke of Ormonde would be necessarily anticipated. The duke of York had also represented to the king the expediency of altering the constitution of the Irish army; he advised him

to get rid of the party of factious and fanatical republicans, which then constituted its strength, under the general name of protestants, and to replace them by the Roman catholics, who, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were still devoted to his family. These particulars do not require explanation; the removal of the Duke of Ormonde was an obvious preliminary to such measures, and he received an intimation of this by a letter from the king, written in a kind and courteous tone, with many assurances of respect and friendship, which had all the sincerity of which the writer was capable.

The king did not long survive this event. The suspicions of his having been poisoned were very strong, and certainly appear not unwarranted by a few details as mentioned by Burnet.*

The Duke of Ormonde's last act in Ireland was the proclamation of King James, by whom the order for his recall was instantly renewed, with circumstances of slight, which seemed to have been the result of the new king's first impulses, eager as he was to remove all opponents from the way of his designs. He was afterwards as respectful to the duke as might have been expected from a prince of his character and policy. On the occasion of the return we find some interesting recollections in the narrative of his friend:—"I went," writes Southwell, "to meet his grace at Northampton, and found him a little perplexed; he had left the earl of Ossory sick of the small-pox at the earl of Derby's at Knowsley, the young lord having taken ill at sea. Now also came news to him of the death of two of the earl of Arran's children. He met also in a newspaper on the road the first tidings that his regiment of horse was given away; and other points there were of no great satisfaction to him. However, when the next day I entertained him for some hours on the subject of the lady Mary Somerset, his grace fell into a new air of contentment. He was met on the road by more coaches from London than I had seen before; and at coming to his house in St James's square, the people in a mighty throng received him with acclamations. This was the last of March, 1685."†

It was at this time the duke's intention to pass the few remaining years of his life in retired study, and in preparation for that call which he knew could not, at his age and with his infirmities, be long deferred. In addition to the death of the duchess, and that of his son, the noble and high spirited Ossory, he had, in the beginning of 1686, to lament the death of his second son, the earl of Arran, a brave soldier, and highly distinguished in several military and naval services, but excessively addicted to dissipation.

In February the duke retired to Combury, a seat in Oxfordshire, lent to him by the earl of Clarendon, who was then in Ireland. In August, the same year, he attended the king on a progress, but found his strength unequal to the travelling, and quitting the royal party, made his way to London. In December, he joined with Dr Burnet and others in making a stand against one of the first attempts of king James, to exercise a power of dispensing with the laws which required the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on the admission of pensioners

* History of his own Time, I. 337.

† Southwell's Life of Ormonde.

to the Charterhouse. The occasion is not, in itself, of any historical importance. The act excited the king's indignation; and this was farther increased by the duke's refusal to consent to the abolition of the penal laws and test, an object which the king pursued with great and increasing violence, until it was the means of losing his crown. With the duke he was, however, not disposed to have recourse to the same extremities which he adopted towards others who set themselves against his will. He said that, "as his grace had distinguished himself from others, by his long and faithful services to the crown, so he would distinguish him from others by his indulgence."* Among the weaknesses of the king, one was the hope of converting his nobles, and leading men to his own religion. The history of these efforts is indeed curious and instructive; they had no other effect than to call up Stillingfleet, and a host of eminent theologians, and the public mind was soon farther than ever from the opinions of the king. Several controversial meetings took place, some in the royal presence, of which the result was not altogether satisfactory. The earl of Rochester was considered an easy subject, and the king intimated to him that he only desired him to confer with the court chaplains upon the subject. The earl consented, but said that it should be in the presence of some divines of the English church. The king agreed, but objected to Tillotson or Stillingfleet; the earl said he would be contented with the chaplains of the court establishment, who though protestant were yet retained according to the ancient usages, which the king had not yet advanced so far as to set aside. The parties met according to this arrangement, and the king's chaplains gave their reasons, on hearing which the earl said, that if they had none better, he would not trouble the other gentlemen to reply, as he could answer so far himself; which accordingly he did.†

The duke of Ormonde was soon assailed in a similar manner. Peter Walsh who had, in an intercourse of forty years, never before addressed him on the subject, and Lord Arundel, made a formal attempt, for which he prepared himself. Both were foiled. Carte gives the substance of his conversation with Walsh: "The good father confessed to his grace that there were abundance of abuses in their church, yet still it was safest to die therein; and showed that an open renunciation or abjuration was not required from any who were reconciled, except ecclesiastics; and that if a man did but embrace that faith in his heart it was enough. The duke, among other things, replied, that though he had great charity for such as had been brought up in that religion, and wanted the opportunities of knowing those errors which were confessed, and he might have hoped well of his latter end if he had been thus bred and thus invincibly ignorant, yet, since he knew their errors, he could never embrace what he saw cause to condemn; and wondered, if the condition wherein he was appeared to be so dangerous to him, why so good a friend did not admonish him sooner thereof. Peter soon saw there was no good to be done, and did not venture a second attempt. This religious had always been very cordial and sincere in his professions and zeal for the duke's service; and his grace having the

* Carte.

† Burnet.

post of seneschal or steward to the bishop of Winchester, (it being usually given in ancient times to some of the most powerful of the nobility, who were thereby engaged in the protection of that see,) by a patent from Bishop Morley, with the fee of £100 a-year, had settled it upon him for subsistence. This was all Peter Walsh had to live on; he received it duly, and had it till his death, which happened a little before the duke of Ormonde's."

In the beginning of 1688, the duke had formed the intention of accompanying the king on a progress, but found himself disabled by the weakness which followed an attack of gout. He applied in spring for leave to retire to a greater distance from the town, and waive his attendance at court; and took a place at Dorsetshire, where he hoped to be benefited by the goodness of the air. To this place he removed from Badminton with considerable fatigue, as his lameness was so great that he could not move without assistance. In March he had a violent attack of fever, and recovered with difficulty, after which he made his will. In May he had however so far recovered, as to be enabled, with some assistance, to walk in the garden. He received a visit this spring from Sir Robert Southwell, his steady and faithful friend, who had, for the two years previous, been engaged in drawing up a history of his life, and now remained with him for some weeks. Among the many conversations which occurred on this occasion, there is a passage preserved by Carte, we presume, on the authority of Southwell's narrative, which is worth noticing as an illustration of the even and tempered politics of the duke, who evidently was equally uninfected by the factious prejudices of either of the two violent parties, between which he had held the scale of impartial justice through so long a period of public service. Talking of the precipitate measures of king James to his friend, "he lamented that his majesty should be advised to put such questions, as was then too generally practised, to men of undoubted loyalty. That, for his own part, he had been ever zealous, not only to serve the crown, but even to please his prince; that he did, in truth, think the popish lords had been treated with great hardship and injustice when deprived of sitting in the house, which was their undoubted right and inheritance, but the danger of dispensing with the penal laws was now become so visible, that he did not see how any man could, in good conscience, be absent from the house whenever that came to be the question."

But the end of the duke's long and useful life was approaching. On Friday, 22d., he was taken ill with an aguish attack: and though by the extraordinary vitality of his constitution he threw it off, it was perceptible that his strength was near exhausted, and that he could not be expected to last much longer, though he was enabled to take the air daily in his coach. The bishop of Worcester came and remained with him for a month; but the duke began to feel so much better that he thought he might hold out for some months longer, and the bishop went away: he promised to return, and the duke said he would send for him in time, when he felt the approach of death. He continued to go out for a few days. On Wednesday, July 16th, he went out in the coach with lady Ossory, but returned ill: yet for the two following days he was so much better as to stir about the house a little. On Friday,

he was attacked by a violent stitch in the side, which gave way to the treatment applied. He was visited by Mr Clerk on Saturday, and observed to him, "this day four years was a very melancholy day to me." Mr Clerk did not at first understand him, until he added, "it was the most melancholy I ever passed in my life: it was the day I lost my dear wife." Mr Clerk then thought his grace worse than he had yet been. The duke desired him to write to Sir R. Southwell to come over.

The duke was amused by his little grandson, whom he had constantly with him, though not more than two years old at the time. He frequently asked the hour, and desired his chaplain, Mr Hartstrong, (afterward bishop of Derry,) to prepare to administer the sacrament to him by ten next morning, naming those whom he wished to receive it with him. In the afternoon he got out of bed to join as usual in the family prayers, and read the responses with his usual clearness, but it was observed by those around him that he was evidently striving with pain. He continued sitting up till three o'clock, which was the hour of afternoon prayers, in which he joined as usual. He conversed a good deal, but showed starts of pain. He desired Mr Clerk to secure some papers which lay in the window, for Sir R. Southwell, who, he said, could not arrive in time. He was desirous to return to bed, but Mr Clerk remarked to him that he was going faster than he thought, and that it would be better not to wait till morning for the sacrament; the duke assented, and it was accordingly administered without delay, with the young earl of Ossory, who arrived a few days before, and all the servants of his household.

His grace then addressed his servants, and told them, that in recommending them all to the friendship and protection of the earl of Ossory, he had done all in his power to requite their faithful services, as he had been all his life in debt, and now died so. He then dismissed them, and feeling greatly exhausted, desired to be laid on his bed. This was done by his gentleman of the chamber and another: they were laying him on his back, and he requested them to turn him on his side; while this was doing, his hand was observed to fall deadly, and on examining they found that he had breathed his last in the interval.

His mind had been clear to the very last; he had frequently expressed a wish that he "might not outlive his intellectuals." He was by his own desire buried in Westminster Abbey, next to his duchess and his two sons, on August 4th, 1688; the funeral service being read by Dr Spratt, bishop of Rochester: he would have completed his 78th year in a few days.

The duke was something above the middle size, of a fair complexion, and a countenance remarkable for its grave and dignified expression, combined with an air of frankness and modesty. He dressed in the fashion of the court, but with a freedom from finery or affectation. His living was hospitable, but in his own person plain and abstemious. His life was free from vice, and his religious observance exemplary from youth to extreme old age: a fact more honourably characteristic than may be fully allowed for by every reader, until his recollection is called to the truth of common experience as well as of divine declaration, how little consistent with each other are the ways of piety and of the world,

in which latter his grace was by the necessities of his position, and of the times in which he lived a prominent actor. Neither the pomps and vanities, nor the anxious and engrossing cares, nor the temptations of acquisition and station, nor the applause and censure of multitudes, nor even the most long-sighted wisdom of camps, cabinets, and senates, are favourable to the attainment of that spiritual condition which is needful to the interests of that future state at present faintly apprehended, and therefore little the object of earnest concern, save to the few to whom they have been *realized* by faith, and the teaching of a better spirit than the statesman's heart ordinarily knows. The political partisan and the leader of state-parties may often indeed manifest a deep zeal for the maintenance of a church; but it will, on closer inspection, be ever soon observed, that such zeal has not necessarily any connexion with religion. A church may be regarded simply as a corporate institution, available for the various uses of human policy and constitutional arrangement; and thus viewed, may be the object of a competition, and an excitement of passions as violent and as inconsistent with christian spirit, as if it were a borough or a commercial charter. To exemplify this in the affairs of the present time would be most especially easy, though perhaps too invidious for a popular work. We shall not, however, be called partial, if we tell the reader, whatever may be his persuasion, to cast but a glance on which side soever he pleases, on the two prominent ecclesiastical parties of the hour, to be convinced of the entirely secular nature of the actuating principles on either side. A fact easily borne out in detail, whether we view the demonstrations of the parties, or the character of the individuals who are the leading actors in the strife. This is not the place to follow out this interesting position with the analytical detail by which it could easily be placed in a startling clearness of evidence: for our purpose it is enough that the duke of Ormonde was a most illustrious exception. And we must add, that the fact affords an easy solution of much of his high and noble career, which the moral ignorance of some of our esteemed contemporaries have laboured in vain, to reconcile with their own ideas of human motives, by the most ingenious and far-fetched imputations of design, unwarranted by any known action of his life, and broadly inconsistent with all. The duke was remarkable for his alert and indefatigable attention to business, his early hours, and strict economy of time. His affection to the duchess and all his children was a trait of his disposition, not less discernible throughout his life.

The duke's letters and state papers are to a great extent preserved, and form a large volume: they manifest in abundance all the higher qualities of the statesman—the man, and the christian. Of all these qualities we have already offered occasional evidence in the extracts we have selected from the duke's correspondence and other papers; we shall here add two more, which, on reflection, we think should not be omitted, though from the progress of the work, we have inadvertently allowed the occasion to pass. The following is, we think, a favourable specimen of the style and language of his grace's period, as also worthy of notice for its more substantial merits:

In the beginning of the reign of Charles II., the enemies of Ireland and of the duke endeavoured to obtain the nomination of English

men to the vacant bishoprics in this country. The duke's remonstrance contains this just and eloquent passage:—"It is fit that it be remembered that near the city of Dublin there is a university of the foundation of queen Elizabeth, principally intended for the education and advantage of the natives of this kingdom, which hath produced men very eminent for learning and piety, and those of this nation: and such there are now in this church; so, that while there are so, the passing them by is not only in some measure a violation of the original intent and institutions, but a great discouragement to the natives, from making themselves capable and fit for preferments in the church: whereunto, (if they have equal parts,) they are better able to do service than strangers; their knowledge of the country and their relations in it giving them the advantage. The promotion too of fitting persons already dignified or beneficed, will make more room for, and consequently encourage young men, students in this university; which room will be lost, and the inferior clergy much disheartened, if upon the vacancy of bishoprics persons unknown to the kingdom and university shall be sent to fill them, and to be less useful there to church and kingdom than those who are better acquainted with both." To this we shall add another of those peculiar compositions in which the fervid and genuine piety of the duke appears to have imparted to his pen, an eloquence of a higher kind than often appears in the best writers of his age.

His prayer and thanksgiving, being recovered a while before from a most dangerous pleurisy, which he had in London.

March 19, 1682.

"O most mighty and most merciful God, by thee we live, move, and have our being; thou art the fountain of life, and to thee it belongs to set the bounds of it, and to appoint the time of our death: our business in this world is to adore, to praise, and to serve thee, according to the notions thou hast imprinted in us; and those revelations of thyself and of thy will, that thou hast vouchsafed to the sons of men in their several generations, by thy holy word. The blessings of this life are of thy bounty, given to engage us to gratitude and to obedience, and the afflictions we sometimes suffer and labour under come also from thy hand, with purposes of mercy to recall, and reduce us from the sinfulness and error of our ways, into which plenty and prosperity had plunged us before.

"I confess, O Lord, that by the course of a long and healthful life vouchsafed to me, thou hast extended all those methods by which thy designs of mercy might have been visible to me if my eyes had not been diverted by the vanities of this life, and my understanding obscured and corrupted by a wilful turning of all my faculties upon the brutish, sensual, unsatisfying pleasures of this transitory world. Thus have I most miserably misspent a longer, and more vigorous, and painless life, than one man of ten thousand has reached unto, neglecting all the opportunities of doing good that thou hast put into my power, and embracing all the occasions by which I was tempted to do evil: yet hast thou spared me, and now lately given me one warning more, by a dangerous sickness, and by a marvellous recovery, showing me the misery

I had undergone, if with all the distraction and confusion I was in, for want of due preparation for death, I had been carried away to answer for multitudes of unrepented sins. Grant (Omerciful God,) that this last tender of mercy may not be fruitless to me; but that I from this moment, though it be later than the eleventh hour of my life, may apply myself to redeem not only the idleness, but wickedness of the days that are past—and do thou then, O Lord, graciously accept my weak endeavours and imperfect repentance, in forgiving not only what is past, but enduing me with grace to please thee with more faithfulness and integrity for the time to come, that so, when thou shalt call for my soul, I may part with it in tranquillity of mind, and a reasonable confidence of thy mercy, through the merits of my blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

THOMAS BUTLER, EARL OF OSSORY.

BORN A.D. 1634—DIED A.D. 1680.

THOMAS BUTLER, Earl of Ossory, the illustrious son of the first duke of Ormonde, was born in the castle of Kilkenny, July 9th, 1634. In common with every other eminent person of his age, the records of his youth are scanty and of little interest. It is only mentioned, that he began early to show signs of the ardent spirit and thirst for military enterprise, which were afterward distinguishing features of his life.

He was in his 13th year, when he was removed to England, by his father on his leaving the government in 1647; he then remained in London, till the duke having been compelled to escape from Cromwell, sent for him and took him into France, where, in the following year, he was placed under the tuition of a French protestant clergyman at Caen. In the following year, on the return of the duke from his secret mission into England, lord Ossory was sent to an academy in Paris, where he quickly obtained very great reputation, and excelled all the other youths, chiefly the sons of the most noble families, in all the studies and exercises which belonged to the school education of the times.

After this it is simply known that he lived for nearly two years with the duchess in Normandy until 1652, when, as we have related, she passed over to England, to solicit the restoration of some portion of her estates, when he was taken over with her, and also accompanied her in her visit to Ireland.

We have already mentioned the particulars relative to the apprehension of the young earl by order of Cromwell, after he had already given permission for his departure. There was no specific charge; it was simply alleged that he conversed with persons who were considered dangerous; the truth seems to be, that the general popularity of his character had the effect of awakening apprehensions of the consequence, which might be the result of permitting him to improve this advantage to the promotion of his father's views; it is probable, that the sagacity of Cromwell had already obtained an insight into the bold and fiery spirit, and prompt activity and talent, which afterward

rendered their possessor remarkable in the field and senate. It is mentioned, that when Cromwell's guard called to look for him, the earl was out, and his mother promised that he should appear next morning. In the mean time, it was suggested that he was at liberty to escape; neither the duchess, (then of course but marchioness) nor the spirited youth, would consent that a promise should be violated, and accordingly, he surrendered himself next day. By the advice of his mother, he then repaired to Whitehall, where he remained in the waiting room, till three in the afternoon, and during some hours, sent in several messages, to which he received no answer, until at last, he was told by Baxter, that he was desired to find lodgings for him in the Tower. He was immediately carried thither in a hackney coach, and remained until the following October, when after a dangerous fever, he was liberated for his health, on the strong representation of his physicians, and allowed to go down to Acton with his mother. This was found insufficient, and the physicians finding it necessary to recommend a trial of foreign air, a pass was with some difficulty obtained, and he went over to Holland. His younger brother Richard was sent with him, disguised as one of his servants. They landed in Flanders, where lord Ossory remained; for it was not considered advisable for him to go near the king; as it might be made a pretence by Cromwell to take away the estates which had been allowed for his mother's maintenance.

In November 1659, lord Ossory was married to Emilia, daughter to M. De Beverweert, governor of Sluys and its dependencies, and a leading man in the assembly of the states. He received with her a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those times, of which however, the king had the entire benefit. The young lord was not of a spirit, or at a time of life to be very anxious on the score of pecuniary considerations, and probably considered it enough to be blest with a wife not less attractive for her beauty, than for a degree of worth and prudence which endeared her quickly to all the members of the noble family, into which she was thus introduced.

After the restoration, while royal favour showered well-earned honours upon the duke of Ormonde, the earl was made (by patent), a colonel of foot in Ireland, February 8th, 1661; and in a few months after, changed into the cavalry with the same rank. In the military affairs of Ireland, at this time, there was no field for military distinction; and we feel it unnecessary to dwell on his lordship's history for the next three years, when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1665.

In the last mentioned year, he was present at the memorable sea-fight, between the Dutch fleet and the English, under the command of the duke of Albemarle. The reader is aware of the general history of this most dreadful and sanguinary battle, which lasted four days, and stands nearly at the head of the list of naval engagements, for the furious obstinacy with which it was contested, and the terrific variety of its incidents. It was on the second day of the battle, when the wind having abated, and the fight became, as Hume well expresses it, "more steady and terrible," that the great preponderance of the Dutch force, for a time compelled the English to retreat towards their

coast. The earl of Ossory and Sir T. Clifford were standing over the shore near Harwich, and were struck by the approaching thunder of the guns. Excited by the most animating sounds that are known to human ear, they hastened to the town and soon found a small vessel which they hired to carry them out to the scene of struggle, and they were not long before they reached the ship commanded by the duke of Albemarle in person. The earl was gladly received, and was the bearer of welcome intelligence. Before leaving the shore, he had been apprized that prince Rupert had received orders to join the duke with the squadron under his command, amounting to sixteen sail of the line. At this period, the Dutch had been joined by sixteen fresh ships, and the English were reduced to twenty-eight, so that it appeared that their best chance was escape; the Dutch were at this time powerful at sea, and the English had not yet attained the maturity of their naval eminence. A calm prevented the Dutch from approaching so as to continue the engagement, during the remainder of that day.

Next morning, dispositions were made for the safety of the English fleet; the admiral fought as he retreated, in order to secure the retreat of the weaker vessels; and as there was no adequate force to resist the overwhelming line of the Dutch, which crowded towering on, as it appeared to the earl of Ossory, in the exultation of assured victory. In this conviction, he turned to the duke to whom he was standing near, and said, that "he saw no help but they must be taken." The duke made answer, "I know how to prevent that." The Dutch still approached three to one; and the earl of Ossory who had been puzzling himself to conjecture the duke's meaning, again asked by what means he proposed to avoid being captured: "blow up the ship," was the duke's reply—a proposal to which lord Ossory gave his unqualified applause, and ever after had the greatest respect for the duke of Albemarle. About two o'clock, just as the Dutch had come up, and the action was about to be renewed, a fleet was seen to approach from the south in full sail. The appearance gave encouragement to each party; the Dutch were in expectation of being joined by a reinforcement under Beaufort, and the English were satisfied it was Rupert's squadron. The English were not deceived; Albemarle, immediately made signals for his ships to form a junction with the friendly squadron. And in the hurry of this operation, a first-rate man of war of one hundred guns was lost, by striking on the Galloper Sands; as their extrication from this perilous position was, under circumstances impossible, the captain and his brave crew were compelled to strike to the Dutch, who were about to attack them with fire ships.

The junction was effected, and the fleets were now nearly on an equality. On the next morning the fight was once more renewed with fresh fury, and continued until they were separated by a dense fog. The English were allowed the honour of the fight by their country; but the Dutch triumphed not less in the capture of a few ships. The English nevertheless appear to have contended with unparalleled determination against a far superior force, and thus gave unquestionable promise of that naval supremacy which now began to appear. The reader is aware that a more decided step was gained towards this re-

sult in the following month, when on 25th July, contrary to the expectation of Europe, a signal and glorious victory over the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Tromp, at once gave England the sceptre of the waves.

On the same year, the earl of Ossory gained a steady and powerful friend, by the marriage of lord Arlington with his wife's sister. He was also made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king, on the resignation of that office by his father. He was in June sworn of the privy council, and by a patent bearing date September 14th, he was called to the English house of peers, by the title of lord Butler of Moore Park. In October, the king having invited the prince of Orange to pay him a visit, lord Ossory was sent to conduct him to England. As England was at this time at peace, he proceeded to Paris to engage as a volunteer in the service of the king of France, in an expedition which that monarch had planned against Alsan; but the plan having been abandoned, lord Ossory returned to England. A little after his return, he received from the prince of Orange a cwer and baton of gold, as a mark of his esteem.

Shortly after the attempt of colonel Blood upon his father's life, an incident occurred in the royal presence, which characterized alike the determined spirit and the filial affection of lord Ossory. The story is told by Carte, upon the authority of Dr Turner bishop of Ely. We shall give it in the author's words: "The bishop was the king's chaplain in waiting, and present, when the earl of Ossory came in one day not long after the affair, and seeing the duke of Buckingham standing by the king, his colour rose, and he spoke to this effect: 'My lord, I know well that you are at the head of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning, if my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it, I shall consider you as the assassin, I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'"^{*}

In January 1672, his naval career commenced with a commission to command the Resolution, a third-rate, but in April he was changed to the Victory, a second-rate. In September, he was elected Knight of the Garter and installed the following month. In November, having been sent over as envoy extraordinary to the French court, to offer the usual condolence upon the death of the duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood, the distinction with which he was treated was such as to indicate the high esteem in which his character and abilities were then held. The king of France pressed him to enter his service, and offered that if he would take a command in his army, he should have whatever appointment he should think proper to ask. On the earl of Ossory's refusal, the king sent M. de Louvois to him next day to offer him any command he should name; the earl returned a complimentary answer, such as at the same time to convey a disposition to refuse. "Come, my lord," answered De Louvois, "I see you are modest, let

^{*} Carte.

me speak for you, will 20,000 pistoles for equipage, and 20,000 pistoles a-year do? If not, say what you will have, and choose what command you please." The earl pleaded his engagement in the sea service and declined. At his departure he was presented with a jewel worth £2000.

In 1673, he received the command of the *St Michael*, a first-rate vessel of the line: and bore a distinguished part in several actions with the Dutch that summer. A fresh war had been declared against that power, on the most absurd pretences, and contrary to all justice and wisdom; and numerous great encounters took place, of which the issue was so far doubtful, that in general the victory was with equal truth claimed by both. While by the secret orders of the king of France, for whose ambitious views, and at whose instigation the war was undertaken, the French vessels which swelled the allied armament, so as to give a hollow encouragement to the English, were prudently kept out of danger, and contributed nothing to their real chances of success. In one of those actions lord Ossory had an opportunity to distinguish himself by his promptness, in saving a first-rate vessel, which being disabled, was about to be taken possession of by the enemy. He was immediately after made rear-admiral of the red; and towards the close of the year sent to command in the *Nore*. In the latter part of the same year, he formed a plan to enter the Dutch harbour at *Helvoetsluys*, and burn a fleet which lay there, in retaliation of the insult which the English received at *Chatham*. With this intention he sent over a gentleman in his own service to survey the scene of meditated enterprise. The report was in a high degree satisfactory, and lord Ossory obtained the king's permission to take with him ten sail of the line and 2000 soldiers. But the influence of *Buckingham* interfered, and the king retracted. The earl of Ossory in his disappointment, assured the king, that he "would fire the Dutch ships with a half-penny candle, or he should place his head on *Westminster hall* by *Cromwell's*, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed."

In the following year, (1674,) lord Ossory was sent into *Holland* to negotiate the match between the princess *Mary*, daughter to the duke of *York* and the prince of *Orange*, who had two years before been made *Stadholder* by the states of *Holland*, and had on several occasions shown a degree of prudence, firmness, and natural elevation of character, which had drawn upon him the general expectation and respect of *Europe*. In *England* he was highly popular, and this match, to which *Charles* soon after felt himself driven, for the purpose of conciliating the protestant feelings of his people, may be looked on as the choice of the nation, as it was afterwards the immediate instrument under providence for its preservation and advancement in constitutional prosperity. In the year 1667, the discontents of the country had increased to a serious pitch—the king, whose indolence and feebleness of temper had grown into disease, and who found himself every year less and less able to contend with the national spirit, came to this resolution as the last resource to satisfy his people, who he knew looked already to the prince of *Orange* as a last refuge, and sought his advice on many occasions. His ministers were favourable to this course; and at last *Charles* was led to permit the prince to visit *England* as soon as the

campaign in which he was then engaged against France should be closed for the season. On this occasion the prince sent over a letter to lord Ossory, requesting that he would give his constant advice and assistance to his mission, the proposal of which was leave to come over to address the princess; and when the prince returned, the earl followed at his request to take a part in his campaign. He joined the prince before Charleroi. Shortly after, the French army showed itself under the command of M. de Luxembourg, and a battle was expected. The prince showed his high opinion of lord Ossory, by giving him the post of honour with the command of six thousand men. There was however no battle. But in the next year he had better fortune, and gained signal distinction at the famous battle of Mons, in which Luxembourg was forced to retreat. On this occasion his services were publicly acknowledged by the states, and the king of Spain sent a letter, written with his own hand, acknowledging his great services.

On his return to England, he was nominated to command the fleet designed to be sent against Algiers. A dispute however arose as to the force to be sent out on this service, and the result was the appointment of a lesser force with an inferior officer.

In 1679, when the earl of Shaftesbury, at the head of a party leagued for the removal of the duke of Ormonde from his post, had made a violent attack upon his character and conduct in the house, the earl of Ossory made the following eloquent and spirited reply, in which the reader may recognise an imitation of great and merited celebrity among the best known specimens of modern oratory:—"I am very sorry, and do much wonder to find that noble lord so apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleased to mention the affairs of Ireland. It is very well known that he was the chief person that sustained the king's and the protestant interest when the Irish rebellion first broke out. His services were so acceptable to the long parliament, that after some successes he had against the Irish rebels, the parliament voted him thanks, and sent him a rich jewel as a mark of honour and of their esteem. It is well known, that when he made two peaces with the Irish, they both times perfidiously broke them and endeavoured his murder, and sent out several excommunications against him and those that adhered to him. When he was abroad, I believe many may remember, how, when the duke of Gloucester was taken into the hands of some that would have perverted him, the king commanded my father to bring him from Paris, which he did, notwithstanding the threatenings and animosity of that party against him. How he had been laid at by that party, since the king's restoration, I think is sufficiently notorious. I beg your lordships' pardon, if the nearness of my relation may have made me say any thing which may look vain, being infinitely much concerned, that any suspicion should be raised against him which may argue his being not sufficiently zealous in all things wherein the protestant religion and the king's service are concerned.

"Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking off the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch, and the joining with France;

he was not the author of that most excellent position of *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and of all men, according to their actions and counsels.”*

In 1680, he obtained his commission as general from the United States. In the same year he was preparing to go out as governor to Tangier, which was at the time besieged by the Moors, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the 46th year of his age. His death was felt by the whole country, and gave a momentary shock to the noblest persons in Europe: for there were few who obtained so high a place in the list of honour and the respect of the world without any aid from station; having in fact never risen in professional life to any rank proportioned to the distinctions he had won in the sea and land service, as well as in parliament. The violence of the current of hostility under which the established station of his illustrious father was insufficient to stand firm, continually impeded his advance: yet his reputation is confirmed by the number and character of his appointments at home and abroad; at home, indeed, these opportunities of distinction were mostly frustrated in the very crisis of preparation by the malice and intrigue of the British court, in which to rise it was necessary to be corrupt.

The earl of Ossory left two sons, James, who succeeded to the ducal honours, and Charles, earl of Arran.

JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF ORMONDE.

BORN A. D. 1665.—DIED A. D. 1745.

THIS nobleman, who succeeded his illustrious grandfather in his titles and estates in 1688, was born in the castle of Dublin, April 29th, 1665, and was sent to France at ten years old, under the superintendence of Mons. l'Ange, for the purpose of acquiring the French language, along with the fashionable accomplishments of the day: the tutor, however, proving unworthy, his pupil was quickly recalled to England, and placed by his grandfather in Oxford, where he continued until the death of his father, lord Ossory, in 1680. About two years after this event, when he was only seventeen, he was married to the daughter of Lord Hyde, afterwards earl of Rochester. She, dying early, left him a widower in his twentieth year. He had previously commenced his military career in France as a volunteer, and was, in 1685, appointed a lord of the bedchamber. He served against the duke of Monmouth in the west, and had a share in the victory over that unfortunate nobleman at Sedgemore. He shortly after entered into a second marriage with the lady Mary Somers, daughter to the duke of Beaufort, which union had been contemplated by the members of both families previous to his former marriage. He was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1688, in the room of his grandfather,

* Carte, Appendix, xciii.

and about the same period took possession of his house in St James's Square.

He strenuously opposed the fatal and despotic measures of James, and joined in the petition against a free parliament; receiving, however, a sharp rebuke for his interference, he suddenly left the court, along with prince George of Denmark, and was one of the first of the English nobility who publicly joined the prince of Orange. He was accordingly attainted the following year, and his estate of £25,000 per annum seized by the king.

On William's coronation he was appointed high constable of England, and colonel of the second troop of guards, being also made gentleman of his bedchamber, and installed a knight of the Garter. He accompanied William to Ireland, and was present at the battle of the Boyne; shortly after which he was despatched with his uncle lord Auverquerque, and nine troops of horse, to take possession of Dublin. On William's proceeding to Kilkenny, the duke entertained him splendidly at his castle, and afterwards accompanied him both to England and Holland. In the battle of Neer-landen, when charging the enemy, he received several wounds, and had a horse shot under him, when a soldier being about to stab him, he was rescued by an officer of the French guards, and taken prisoner to Namur. Here he expended a large portion of his own revenues in relieving the wants of his fellow-prisoners, through the instrumentality of the governor, count Guiscard. He was shortly after exchanged for the duke of Berwick, whom Churchill had made prisoner. On his return to England, the king created his brother Charles, lord Butler, baron of Weston in the county of Huntingdon, and earl of Arran in Ireland. He again accompanied the king to Holland, and was exposed to a most destructive fire at the taking of Namur from the French. The king being determined to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to sustain the claim of the house of Austria to the throne of Spain, against the assumed right of the grandson of Louis the 14th, planned, with the duke of Ormonde, and the prince of D'Armstadt, the attack on Cadiz, both by sea and land at the same moment. The duke was selected by him as commander-in-chief of the land forces; but the king dying before it could be effected, the appointment was confirmed to him by Anne, who, resolving to continue the same line of policy adopted by William, despatched a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships on the first of July, 1702, for the accomplishment of this project; and at the same time appointed Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and commander of the naval forces in the expedition. He was neither so sanguine as others respecting this undertaking, nor very zealous in promoting its success; it seemed as if he had undertaken it merely in compliance with the queen's command, and was predetermined to give it as little personal aid as possible. Whether this was owing to any private understanding between the ministers and himself, or to a jealousy at sharing the command with Ormonde is still a question; but it is certain that the duke was impressed with the opinion that Sir George never lent it his hearty concurrence, and that its failure was mainly attributable to his slackness. Its failure, however, was chiefly attributable to the opposite and divided councils of the sea and land

commanders, and to the rapacity and want of discipline in the troops. After their first successes, they proceeded to the work of plunder and spoliation, notwithstanding the public declaration of the duke, in which he set forth that he came "not to possess himself of any place in the Spanish monarchy in the name of her majesty or the states-general of the United Provinces, or to introduce therein the usual troubles and calamities of war by way of conquest; but rather to defend the good and loyal subjects of the said monarchy, and to free them from the insupportable slavery to which they were brought by being sold to France by some disaffected persons; wherefore the design of her majesty and the states-general being only to assert the rights of the house of Austria, his Grace declared that all good Spaniards, who should not oppose his forces, should be protected in their persons, estates, privileges and religion." Unfortunately the forces under Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara, after the capture of Port St Mary, broke through all these regulations, and took and destroyed property to the amount of three millions, besides sacrilegiously breaking into their churches and nunneries, which so enraged the Spaniards, that those who before were favourable to the views of the confederates, and intended siding with them, instantly took a hostile part; and this, joined to the delays caused by opposite opinions amongst the commanders, as to the moment for attacking Cadiz, gave the garrison time to take effective means for their defence; the most decisive amongst these was their sinking three galleons at the entrance of their harbour, by which they put an effectual bar to the descent of the fleet. After the failure of the confederates in taking the fort of Matagorda, which was in part caused by their battery, which had been raised on a morass, suddenly giving way, it was determined that the fleet should return home for the winter; and it was on their passage that intelligence was received of the French and Spanish fleet being off Vigo. The bold and prompt determination of the allies to attack this combined fleet, was crowned with the most signal success, and the loss both of money and ships to the enemy, great beyond precedent. The duke valiantly and successfully led on his forces of about 2,500 men, and landed them within two leagues of Vigo; one portion of these he detached under lord-viscount Shannon and colonel Pierce, to take possession of the fort that guarded the entrance to the harbour, and marched on foot over craggy mountains to attack the fort of Rodondella, and support the advance of the first detachment of the fleet by dividing the attention of the enemy. The grenadiers, led on by these commanders, advanced with such cheerfulness and resolution, that they quickly made themselves masters of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and pursued the French to the very gates of their fortification, when Mons. Sorel, the commander, perceiving the impossibility of retaining the fort, attempted to cut his way through the English, sword in hand. The grenadiers, however, profiting by the momentary opening of the gates, rushed impetuously forward, gained possession of the building, and took three hundred French seamen, with fifty Spaniards, prisoners. Close to this fort or castle, a strong boom was placed across the river, composed of masts, cables, and chains, while within, in apparent security, lay the Spanish and French vessels under the shelter of the town. A

heavy fog having favoured the advance of the English and Dutch ships, admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom, notwithstanding a heavy fire being opened upon him by two of the French vessels which lay within. He was quickly followed by his own division, and that of the Dutch admiral, Vandergoes; but these ships, with the exception of that of Vandergoes, having missed the passage made by admiral Hopson, had to cut their way through the boom. The admiral and his crew had almost fallen victims to his heroic daring; for immediately on entering the river, he nearly came in contact with a fire-ship, and would inevitably have been destroyed, had it not prematurely exploded. As it was, his vessel was greatly burned and otherwise injured, and many lives were lost. The French admiral, seeing the boom cut in pieces, the castle and platform in the hands of the enemy, and the confederate squadron ready to bear down upon them, ordered his own ship to be set on fire; which desperate resolve was but too faithfully imitated by the fleet under his command. It was with the greatest difficulty that the English could rescue even a portion of these ships and their self-devoted crews. The loss of property was immense, the cargo of this fleet being computed at twenty millions of pieces in gold and silver, besides merchandise, valued at twenty millions of pieces more. About one-fourth was removed by the enemy, a large portion sunk and destroyed, and the remainder was secured by the confederates, along with eight or nine of the enemy's ships. The duke also took a great quantity of plate and other valuables, which had been removed to Rodondella; a large body of the Spaniards hovered in his rear, but did not attempt to come to action, so that this brilliant and important victory was obtained with little sacrifice of life on the part of the confederates, not above forty of the landsmen being killed, and but very few of the seamen. The duke proposed leaving a good squadron of ships with the land forces to winter at Vigo, but this judicious plan was opposed and over-ruled by Sir George Rooke, who alleged that he had already sent home the victuallers with the stores, and could not spare either ships or provisions: its vicinity to Portugal would have secured the latter, but it was impossible to remain without ships to protect the harbour, and over these Sir George held undisputed control. On the duke's return to England he was received with acclamations by the people, and with every demonstration of favour and respect at court, after which he received the thanks of the two houses. The duke complained openly of the conduct of Sir George at Cadiz, and seemed resolved to carry the matter to a public accusation: this however he was persuaded to abandon; but a committee was appointed by the house of lords, to examine both the sea and land-officers, as well as the admiral himself, as to his instructions and the management of the whole affair. Tindall observes, that he was so well supported by the ministers and his own party in the house of commons, that he felt little uneasiness at the investigation, and took much pains to show, how improper a design the descent upon Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved; and in doing this he arraigned his instructions, and the designs upon which he was sent, with great boldness, and showed little regard to the ministers, who took more pains to bring him off than to justify themselves. The lords of the committee pre-

pared a report which was severe upon Rooke, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, wherein it was declared, "that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation." He subsequently received the thanks of the two houses for his services. Shortly after, the duke was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, where he was received with enthusiasm, and governed the kingdom for four years, with greater popularity and splendour, than had ever been known on any former occasion. In 1707 he was appointed colonel of the third troop of horse-guards, and in 1710, when queen Anne so suddenly displaced her whig ministers, he was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of lord Wharton. In the year following, when the members of the new cabinet were more firmly established in power, and their shameful intrigues had at length effected the downfall of Marlborough, the duke of Ormonde was appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the land-forces in England, as well as commander-in-chief to the army abroad, and successor to all Marlborough's military appointments. He was in the council-chamber at the time of Harley's assassination by Guiscard, when St John, and some of the other members, thinking Harley killed, rushed at the assassin with their swords, and wounded him so severely, that he called upon Ormonde to despatch him at once; to which it is said, the duke replied, "that it was not work fit for a gentleman."

On the 9th of April, 1712, the duke set out on his expedition to Flanders, accompanied by a great many of the nobility and persons of distinction; and on arriving at the city of Tournay, he was received with a triple salute of the artillery, and entertained by the earl of Albemarle, along with prince Eugene, and the deputies of the states. The troops were greatly discontented and disheartened at the removal of their old and victorious general, under whom they had begun to consider defeat impossible; and the Dutch were equally discontented and distrustful of his successor. The late shuffling and disingenuous conduct of the queen and her ministers had excited their suspicion, and they refused to place their forces under the direction of the duke. They accordingly nominated prince Eugene to the command, who bitterly lamented the removal of his former friend and colleague, and drew a most disparaging comparison between the two commanders. The prince was an acute observer, who quickly saw the want of moral energy in the duke, which made him an assured, though reluctant tool, in the hands of a corrupt and intriguing ministry. Mackay designates him justly when he says, "he is certainly one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault; loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers; never knew how to refuse anybody, which was the reason why he obtained so little from king William, asking for everybody. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business." Harley and St John calculated too accurately upon the high points of his character, to make him aware of the mean and crooked policy they intended to pursue;

and, knowing his profuse and generous habits, they accompanied the high and honoured command with which they invested him, with all the emoluments and *perquisites*, for the receiving of which Marlborough had been removed and disgraced. His instructions were "to repair with all possible diligence to the Hague, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that he had received her majesty's orders to see him before he went to put himself at the head of her majesty's troops, and to express to him her resolution of pursuing the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should agree to such terms of peace, as might be safe and honourable for herself and allies."*

The English forces had for many weeks been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between Tournay and Lisle. It was agreed between the duke and prince Eugene that they should pass the Scheld near Bouchain, and encamp at Avesne le Sec, for the purpose either of making a sudden attack upon the enemy, or of investing Quesnoy, which from its size could not hold out many weeks. All was arranged for the uniting of their respective forces, when two secret expresses arrived from Bolingbroke, urging the duke for the present to remain inactive; as, that a battle lost might disadvantageously prolong the war, or entitle the enemy to obtain better terms, in case of the projected treaty for peace being perfected. He also threw out base insinuations against the prince, falsely asserting that the Dutch were jealous and suspicious of him, and had given their generals private orders to use more caution than he (the prince) might probably approve. The duke returned a simple and natural answer to their communications, and one that entirely exempts him from the charge of being in any degree privy, at this period, to the duplicity of the ministers, or their intended breach of faith with the allies. He writes, "that he was entirely of the secretary's opinion, that a battle either lost or won would at this time make very great alterations in the treaties now on foot; but that the secretary might remember, that in his *instructions* he was ordered to act in conjunction with the allies, *in prosecuting the war with vigour*; so that should there happen a fair opportunity to attack the enemy, he could not decline it, if proposed by the prince and states: but he hoped to hear from him by a messenger before the armies were formed, which would be on the 21st." He adds in a second letter, May 20th, "that, if there were a good opportunity to attack the enemy, and get into France by the way of Champagne, he was sure the prince and the states would press it, unless they heard from England that the peace was near being concluded: that he wished it very heartily; but if it were delayed, he hoped he should have the good fortune to force the prince to comply with the queen's demands."† On the appointed day the two armies advanced towards the enemy, the duke taking up his quarters at Marchiennes, and the prince at Neufville; three days after, another blighting letter came from the secretary, containing the queen's "positive command, that he should avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till he received further orders from England," and adding, "that the queen would have him disguise the receipt of this order; and that she

* Tindall.

† Ibid.

thought he could not want pretences for conducting himself so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect if it was publicly known." The plea for the delay was the expected arrival of a courier sent from the court of Versailles to Madrid; but the moment it was indicated to him that he should commence acting a double and treacherous part, in which his honour and character were deeply compromised, should have been the moment for sending in his resignation. Unfortunately, however, he wanted the moral courage for such an emergency, and, while he fully appreciated the disgrace and difficulty of the course suggested, he promised implicit obedience. It was also communicated to him, that a copy of the instructions sent to him had been forwarded to the court of France; so that if he received any underhand amicable communication from the French general, Marshal Villars, he was to answer it in the same spirit. It is needless to enter into the various difficulties, vexations, and inconsistencies, into which he was betrayed by his present equivocal position; but when at length, Eugene finding all his appeals, representations, and reproaches, vain, and that he came to the resolution to attack Quesnoy himself, the duke was compelled to allow some of the mercenaries, who were in the joint pay of England and the states, to assist at the siege. This brought a letter of expostulation from Marshall Villars, who had before communicated with him in an amicable and complimentary tone, on the secret understanding that existed between the two courts. The duke's difficulties and mortifications daily increased, and he wrote to St John, "that things were now come to an extremity: that he could not avoid seeing every day fresh marks of ill blood and dissatisfaction, caused among the allies by the measures he was obliged to observe; that many of them did not scruple to say *we were betraying them*; and this ferment seemed rather likely to increase than diminish; and that considering the circumstances they were in, it was hard to say what might be the consequences of it." The close of his letter was in these words: "By this and my former, you may guess how uneasy a situation I am in; and if there is no prospect of action I do not see of what use I am here; and if it suit with her majesty's service, I should be glad I might have leave to return to England;" yet, adding the neutralizing clause—"but in this, and all other matters, I shall readily submit to her majesty's pleasure."*

The Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht made long complaints to the bishop of Bristol, the English envoy, respecting the duke; he, however answered that he knew nothing of the matter, but would represent it to the queen. In the course of the conference, he mentioned that he had received a letter stating that the queen complained of their "high mightinesses" not having responded in the way she thought they ought, to the advances she had made from time to time to the states, in order to engage them to enter with her upon a plan of peace; and he added, "that therefore they ought not to be surprised, if her majesty did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience." They represented that "they thought they had merited otherwise, by the deference, which, on

* Tindall.

all occasions they had showed to her majesty; and that they knew nothing of the advances which the bishop said her majesty had made towards the states on the subject of a peace." On the substance of this being communicated to the states, they immediately, in conjunction with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, took private measures for maintaining troops independent of England, while as yet no ostensible separation was allowed to take place between them.

In parliament, the present campaign was discussed at much length, and while the duke's conduct was severely commented upon, a motion was made for an address "humbly desiring her majesty to lay before the house the orders she had sent to the general, and to order him to act offensively in concert with the allies." Harley, in an equivocating speech, declined revealing those instructions; and, on the subject of a separate peace, independent of the allies, said, "that such a peace would be so *base*, so *knaveish*, and so *villainous* a thing, that every one who served the queen, knew that they must answer it with their heads to the nation." He also affirmed that the allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it.* The ministers knew they had a large majority in the house, and these glaring falsehoods were allowed to pass.

The duke was desired by St John to make a show of assisting the prince in the siege of Quesnoy, but this only subjected him to fresh mortifications, as marshall Villars wrote under great irritation to him, accusing him, or else his sovereign of perfidy. Ormonde's aid was little better than nominal, and some time after, when he perceived the prince prosecuting the siege with great vigour, and calculating that its reduction might impede the peace for which both he and his employers had made such degrading sacrifices, he sent to the prince to say "that his troops should continue in the army, provided he would give over the siege of Quesnoy;" to which the prince replied, "that, instead of relinquishing the siege, he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigour, and would let his Grace be eyewitness to another expedition, immediately after the taking of that town." From this time, says Tindall, "all correspondence ceased between the prince and the duke; and the prince perceiving that frequent expresses went between the duke and the French army that might prove detrimental to the confederate cause, held private conferences with other generals, in order to separate their forces from the English; and insinuated, that he would be glad if the English would march off, they being only a burden to the Netherlands, since they had declared that they would not fight against France."

The prince quickly realized his boast, and Quesnoy was in the possession of the confederates.

Shortly after, Ormonde received orders to demand from Villars possession of the town and fort of Dunkirk, as a pledge that France would perform all she had undertaken, and as a necessary preliminary to any cessation of hostilities. It was required on the side of the French, that the artillery-troops under Ormonde should be bound by the projected truce as well as the English, but both they and their princes

* Tindall.

felt that it would be base and cowardly to desert the Dutch at such a juncture, and neither threats nor promises could shake their brave resolve. Villars accordingly refused to give up Dunkirk; and the detachment sent there by Ormonde suffered the mortification of having the gates shut in their faces. The old veterans wept over the insult they were not allowed to revenge, and cursed the duke as "a stupid tool, and a general of straw."

The difficulties, however, as to the delivery of Dunkirk, were quickly removed, as this complying ministry promptly engaged that their mistress, on obtaining possession of that town, should at once break all remaining ties with her allies, and sign the ignoble peace that so quickly followed.

Sir John Leake was sent with brigadier Hill and a fleet from England to take possession of Dunkirk, whither Ormonde subsequently detached six battalions, and a portion of his artillery and ammunition. He himself proceeded to Ghent, having been rudely refused admittance both at Bouchain and Douay, towns conquered by the English arms, and then in possession of the Dutch. This conduct, though afterwards apologized for by the states as being the act of individuals, and unsanctioned by themselves, was not the less mortifying to the naturally susceptible feelings of Ormonde, one of whose chief weaknesses was a love of popularity. He now felt that he had not only forfeited that, but his own self-respect, as well as the position his rank entitled him to hold, which was quite inconsistent with being made a pliable tool in the hands of unprincipled intriguers. On his marching to Ghent and Bruges, and placing garrisons in each town, a report was spread and believed, that before Ormonde had declared the cessation of arms, the earl of Stafford had had a private interview with the French marshall, when it was arranged that the British troops should take possession of these towns, and thus command the navigation of the Lys and Scheld, by which means, if the French generals could not relieve Landrecy, then invested by prince Eugene; the duke might intercept the further progress of the confederates. "That this was the design of the duke of Ormonde, (writes Tindall) in bending his march towards Ghent, is highly probable; but whether or no the same was concerted by the earl of Stafford and marshall Villars, it is certain that the earl suggested that counsel to the duke of Ormonde; nor is it less certain, that the states-general were extremely alarmed at it."

The duke has been much and justly censured for insisting on the pontons he had lent to the earl of Albemarle, and which were necessary for the defence of Denain, being returned to him on the day the cessation of arms was proclaimed, "nor could all that the earl, prince Eugene, or the states-deputies say, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days." On the fall of that place, his enemies did not hesitate to accuse him of having been privy to its attack. The exaggerated tone of Oxford's letter to the duke on the taking of these towns, would seem to imply that some ulterior object was contemplated.

"MY LORD,

"No pen, nor tongue, is able to express the great pleasure I took in your Grace's successes; it was a very great satisfaction to see

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so much done for the public; to see such an example of steady conduct, in so great a nobleman, and, so courageous a heart is what has made you envied by some, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of learning and understanding. Your Grace's march to Ghent, &c., is a *coup de maître*; it is owned to be so in France and Holland; and I must own I take a double pleasure in it, because it is done by the duke of Ormonde, to whose person I have such an entire friendship, and in whose success I take so particular an interest. Monsieur Torey wrote a very just compliment on the affair of *Denain*, that the allies now might see what they had lost by her majesty withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a nation, which everywhere led victory with it. I am with the utmost respect and attachment, &c.,

“ OXFORD.

“ August 5th, 1712.”

On the return of the duke to England he was received most graciously at court; and early in the following year he was made governor of Dover and warden of the Cinque-ports, while his son-in-law lord Ashburnham, was appointed deputy-governor and deputy-warden. The duke was also given a pension of five thousand a-year, out of the revenues of Ireland, for the space of fifteen years, and his duchess made lady of the bed-chamber, which post she held till the queen's death. His interest was the means of promoting Swift to the Deanery of St Patrick's, who, though he had been so long prostituting his pen in the support and defence of that corrupt ministry, had until then remained unrewarded.

The duke's honours, however, were not of long continuance; as on the accession of George, it was notified to him that the king had no longer occasion for his services as captain-general, but would be glad to see him at court. His name was also included among the members of the privy council.

Although it was evident the duke was not in favour, yet it was also plain that the king had no personal dislike to him, and was not inclined to show him any slight; so that if he had acted with common prudence, the storm that was then brewing against the guilty heads of the late ministry would have been likely to pass by, and leave him unharmed; especially as there was a very general impression that he had most reluctantly acted in opposition to the dictates of his own higher feelings, and simply in obedience to the queen's commands.

But the Jacobite and high-church party, at this time, acted in a most daring and reckless manner, and published and industriously dispersed numerous seditious libels, one of which was entitled “The Duke of Ormonde's vindication;” while riotous mobs were either assembled, or permitted to be assembled, on such days as they thought most congenial to the expression of rebellious feeling. On the day of the coronation, the cry of the rioters was, “*Sacheverel and Ormonde*,” “*Damn all foreign governments*,” &c., &c., and on the several anniversaries of the late queen's birthday, of Ormonde's, and of the restoration of Charles the Second, great disorders were committed in the city. That love of popularity which, during the duke's entire life, had been his

bane, and which attended him even to its close, long after higher and better feelings had asserted themselves, was now destined to become his ruin. In place of at once discountenancing these turbulent indications, and protesting against his name being made the watchword of a party; it is evident that he at least gave the sanction of a silent permission to those in his immediate employment, and who would necessarily have been influenced by his opinions, to hold communications with the Pretender, and actively to forward his interests. There is also great reason to think, that Swift, who owed his advancement to the duke, and whose political integrity was not of the highest class, was made an agent for this party in Ireland, and it is not likely that his proud mind would have held intercourse with the subordinates, if he had not been well aware that there was a higher spring setting them in motion. "About the middle of May," writes Tindall, "there was an intercepted letter returned from Ireland, written by Wight, a reformed officer of Windsor's regiment, to his friend in that country; and by a mistake, carried to a person of the same name, in which were these expressions, 'The duke of Ormonde has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we shall be able in a little time, to send George home to his country again.' A warrant was issued from the secretary's office for apprehending captain Wight, who, absconding, a reward of £50 was offered by government to any one who should discover him. Not many days after, Mr George Jeffreys was seized at Dublin, upon his arrival there from England; and being examined before the lords-justices, a packet was found upon him directed to Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's. This packet Jeffreys owned he had received from the duke of Ormonde's chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to England. Jeffreys was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr Swift having notice, and that search was made after him, thought fit to abscond."

The duke took a different course at this time from either Oxford or Bolingbroke, and seemed rather to defy danger than to shun it. "By the magnificence of his mode of living, and the public levees which he held, he seemed arrogantly vying with royalty itself. He held a sort of opposition-court at Richmond, where he openly connected himself with the most ardent Jacobites, and showed no displeasure at having his name coupled with high-church," &c.;* but notwithstanding all this, observes lord Mahon, (had he gone no farther) "ministers would have shrunk from touching a man with so many friends in the country, and in the house of commons, and have feared that, however easily they might lop off the smaller branches, so great a bough could scarcely be hewed down." At length, however, the mob began to call out an *Ormonde*, in opposition to king George, and in place of discountenancing it, he too plainly took pride in the degrading adulation of "the manyheaded monster-thing;" and, "instead of behaving himself submissively, he had the vanity to justify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality exposed him to added censure."† About the middle of June, the following advertisement was dispersed with great industry.

* Lord Mahon.

† Tindall.

"On Tuesday the 7th of this month, her grace the duchess of Ormonde, in her return from Richmond, was stopped in her coach by three persons, well mounted and well armed in disguise, who inquired if the duke was in the coach, and seemed to have a design upon his life, if he had been there. It has been observed, that many persons armed and disguised in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each side of the water, and it is not doubted with a design to assassinate him." "This," says Tindall, "being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace against the duke's supposed enemies, the rest of his conduct could not but alarm the government, and perhaps provoked the House of Commons to proceed against him sooner, and with more rigour than they would otherwise have done." On the 21st of June, Mr Secretary Stanhope stood up and said, "he wished he were not obliged to break silence on that occasion, but, as a member of the secret committee, and of that great assembly, which ought to do the nation justice, he thought it his duty to impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." A large phalanx of friends stood up successively in his defence, amongst whom were Mr Hutchinson, general Lumley, Sir Joseph Jekyll, &c., &c., and set forth at great length the important services which both he and his ancestors had performed to the crown and nation, the high estimation in which he was held by king William, the noble manner in which he had expended the best part of his estate in the wars, and his undoubted personal bravery, having so often and so fearlessly exposed his life for the honour and benefit of his country. Sir Joseph Jekyll said "That, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who for many years had exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country. That if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in justice and equity, to be laid on him, but to them principally, who abusing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the service of his loyal mistress, had drawn him into perfidious counsels. He added that, in his opinion, the house ought to drop the charge of treason, and impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors." Hampden, Lyddal, &c., strongly supported Mr Stanhope's motion, and when the question was put, it was resolved by a majority of forty-seven—"That this house will impeach James duke of Ormonde of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors."

It was the general opinion, says Tindall, "that the rash and unadvised behaviour of the duke's pretended friends, of whom bishop Atterbury was chief, greatly promoted this vote." It was said upon very good grounds, that a relation of the duke's (the duke of Devonshire) had prevailed upon him at that time to write a submissive letter to the king, desiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his majesty's clemency; which had so good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the king in his closet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, bishop Atterbury had been with him, and the consequence was, that he left England "never to return to it more;" it should however be added,—as a loyal subject; for the duke made two descents upon the country in the

service of the Pretender, whose cause, when he had once espoused it, he sustained conscientiously and consistently. It was very contrary to the wish of his Jacobite friends, that he left the country at the time he did; for it was their earnest desire that he should lull the suspicions of government, and remain in England, a spy on its proceedings, until their own plans should be fully matured; or, if he was determined on immediate action, they had projected a sudden insurrection in the west, which would have given exercise to his military powers, and might have advanced the interests of the Chevalier into whose service he had been so unhappily seduced. But Ormonde, says lord Mahon, "who combined very honourable feelings with a very feeble resolution, could neither stoop to the dissimulation of the first project, nor rise to the energy of the second." It has been said that before he went, he paid a visit to lord Oxford in the Tower, and advised him to attempt his escape; that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" and that Oxford answered, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!"

Immediately on the flight of Ormonde, acts of attainder were passed against him and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom, on receiving the intelligence, says he felt the smart of it tingling through every vein. The duke kept up a constant correspondence with his party in England, and arrangements were made for an insurrection in the west, which was to be headed by Ormonde, who sailed from Normandy to Devonshire for that purpose, expecting to find all his partisans in arms; but owing to the treachery of Maclean, one of his principal agents, the rising was happily prevented, the leading insurgents were arrested, and on the duke's arrival not a man was found to receive him, and he was even refused a night's lodging in a country of which he believed himself the idol. He accordingly at once steered for St Maloes, where he met the Pretender in October, and in the December of the same year, made a second unsuccessful attempt to land in England, the arrangements connected with it being ill-planned, and worse followed up.

The Chevalier, on his return from Scotland, 1715, was impressed with the idea that the failure of many of the enterprises, undertaken by himself and others, had been caused by the remissness of Bolingbroke (whom he had appointed as his secretary of state) in forwarding supplies of arms and ammunition; for which impression there certainly appears strong ground, as large supplies of each were lying in Havre and various French ports "rotting," as Bolingbroke himself admits; though he still delayed sending them on various flimsy excuses, such as waiting for an order from the French government, &c., while he took no active means to procure one, and while the Pretender was able on his return to send off a large portion without one, and that the duke of Ormonde, about the same time, procured fifteen thousand arms without the aid or knowledge of Bolingbroke.

Whatever cause of discontent, however, the Chevalier had with Bolingbroke, he did not act wisely in so summarily dismissing the only able minister he possessed; he also proved his *paternal* descent by the duplicity and hypocrisy with which he received and embraced the man he was determined to disgrace. Three days after his parting

from him with every appearance of cordiality and confidence, he sent to him, by the duke of Ormonde, two orders written in a very summary style—the one dismissing him from his post as secretary of state, and the other requiring him to deliver to the duke the papers in his office: “all which,” adds Bolingbroke, “might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. I gave the duke the seals, and some papers I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterwards to the Chevalier, and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several of his letters which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am surprised he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I scorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry.”* The note on this, extracted from the Stuart papers, quotes the following passage from one of James’s letters: “Our good hearty duke (Ormonde) wants a good head with him. I would have sent Booth, but I could not persuade him.” Whatever the duke wanted in head, he made up in zeal and honest attachment to the cause to which he had bound himself. On the negotiation between Charles XII. and the Czar in 1718, the duke hastened to Russia, under the name of Brunet, as plenipotentiary to the Pretender, when it was agreed that both monarchs should combine for the restoration of the Stuarts in Great Britain. Amongst the Stuart papers is the original passport given to Ormonde, in Russian and Latin, and signed by Peter the Great.† Ormonde also endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between the Czar’s daughter, Mottley, and the Pretender, but this was counteracted by the interference of Gortz, the Swedish minister, who had long before intended her for the duke of Holstein, to whom she was ultimately married.

The good understanding that had existed between the English and Spanish courts for some time after Alberoni’s rise to power had now entirely ceased, and the cardinal, desirous of promoting intestine commotions in England, resolved to assist the Pretender with an expedition, and to make his cause a weapon for furthering both the ambitious and resentful views of Spain. He accordingly gave orders for the equipment of a large fleet at Cadiz, the command of which he offered to the duke of Ormonde. The Pretender accordingly was invited to Spain, where he was received by Philip and his queen as sovereign of England. On his arrival at Madrid, orders were immediately despatched to Cadiz for the sailing of the armament: it consisted of five ships of war and about twenty transports, with 5000 soldiers, partly Irish, on board, and arms for 30,000 more. Several also of the chief exiles of 1715 joined themselves to this undertaking. The duke remained at Corunna, from whence he was to embark, and assume the command as captain-general of the king of Spain, from whom he received a proclamation which he was to publish on landing, declaring “that his majesty had determined to send part of his forces as auxiliaries to king James; that he hoped Providence would favour so just a cause; but that the fear of ill success should not hinder any

* Lord Mahon, p. 287.

† Ibid.

person from declaring for him, since he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that should join him; and in case they were forced to leave their country, he engaged that every sea or land officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the soldiers be received and treated as his own."

Immediately on the news arriving in England of this intended invasion, a proclamation was issued offering £10,000 for the apprehension of Ormonde on his landing, and about the same time his house in St James' was put up to auction and sold, clearly indicating that the time for possible reconciliation was past.

With the strange fatality that attended, or rather the evident superhuman control that restrained and overthrew all the enterprises undertaken for the restoration of this prince to the throne of England, the fleet had scarcely lost sight of Cape Finisterre, when the most terrific storm set in, which lasted for twelve days; it seemed as if, in the words of the Psalmist, "the very foundations of the earth were out of course," and while the ships were violently separated from one another; and that in their extremity the crews threw overboard horses, guns, stands of arms, &c., &c., it appeared doubtful whether they could even retain the provisions necessary for the support of life. Only two of the ships reached Scotland in safety, and the rest returned to their own ports shattered and dismantled.

The unfortunate result of this expedition of course annihilated all hope of immediate help from Spain, and Alberoni seeing that he could make no further use of the broken fortunes of the Pretender, was anxious for a specious pretext for his removal from the court of Spain. This was speedily supplied by the escape of the princess Sobieski from Inspruck, on which James immediately set out for Italy, where his nuptials were celebrated.

The duke still kept up an active correspondence with the Jacobites in England, and in 1722 a formidable conspiracy was carried on under the auspices of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and Grey, bishop Atterbury, &c., &c., all of whom were sent to the Tower on the discovery of the plot; which was communicated to the king by the duke of Orleans. A young barrister of the name of Sayer, who was one of the most active of the agents, and from whose papers the largest portion of documentary evidence was obtained, was executed; the bishop was banished, and the rest ultimately pardoned.

About the same period, Bolingbroke also received a pardon, and returned to England. He and Atterbury arriving in Calais on their different destinations, the bishop merrily said, "*Then I am exchanged.*" His daughter, Mrs Morrice, and her husband, accompanied him in his exile.

In 1726, we again find the duke of Ormonde, with a pertinacity and fidelity worthy of a better cause, engaged, with the duke of Wharton, and earl Marischal, at Madrid, in organizing another attempt upon England, which was suddenly frustrated by the dismissal of the duke de Ripperda, the Spanish minister, who was zealous in the furtherance of their objects.

The duke resided chiefly at Avignon, and was remarkable for his benevolence and hospitality. His house was open to Englishmen of

all parties, and twice every week he held large assemblies of the first society in the neighbourhood. His charity knew no bounds; and his servants had frequently to conceal the numerous applications made to him, or he would have exhausted his own funds to relieve the exigencies of others. He was highly esteemed at the court of Spain, from which he received a pension of 2000 pistoles; and notwithstanding the many failures of the expeditions in which he was engaged, that court had so much confidence in his powers and capabilities, that they offered him a command so late as the year 1741, which he declined on account of his age and infirmities. He was a man of the most amiable natural disposition, and possessed many accomplishments; but yet his married life was not happy, no attachment existing between him and his duchess. He is described by St Simon, who saw him in 1721, as "short and fat in person, but yet of most graceful demeanour, and most noble aspect; remarkable for his attachment to the church of England, and refusing large domains which were offered to him as the price of his conversion." Macky in describing him, at an earlier period, in common with all the great men of England and Scotland, for the amusement of the princess Sophia of Hanover, says, he loves and is beloved by the ladies, is of a low stature but well shaped, of a good mien and address, a fair complexion, and very beautiful face. He lost his duchess in 1733, and but one of his children survived him, the lady Elizabeth Butler, who died unmarried. All the rest, with the exception of lady Mary, who married lord Ashburton, and died at twenty-three, were lost in infancy. He was deeply impressed with the truths of religion, and strict in its observances. He had the liturgy of the church of England performed twice every Sunday in the presence of his family and protestant servants, and also on Wednesdays and Fridays; and before receiving the sacrament, which he had regularly administered, he secluded himself for a week, admitting only the society of his chaplain. Though remarkable for his cheerful courteousness of manner, he was latterly observed to appear absent, even in the midst of company, and one of his intimate friends, who was much with him at this period, traces it to his deep and frequent contemplations of that futurity to which he was hastening. In October, 1745, he complained of want of appetite, every thing having become distasteful to him. His physician seeing his strength daily decrease, called in two more of the faculty, who adopted the strange remedy of bleeding for the recovery of his strength. He of course immediately sunk, and expired two days after, on the 14th of November, when his body was embalmed and conveyed to England as a bale of goods. It was deposited in the Jerusalem-chamber, and was afterwards interred in Henry VII.'s chapel, in the vault of his ancestors, the bishop of Rochester performing the funeral service. He died in his eighty-first year, having spent thirty of them in exile.

His brother, lord Arran, had been permitted, in 1721, to purchase the family estates; but he died childless. And thus terminates the male line of the first illustrious duke.

The present marquess derives from Walter, the eleventh earl of Ormonde; and represents the three families of Ormonde, Kilcash, and Garryricken.

SIR WILLIAM ST. LEGER.

DIED A. D. 1642.

We have already mentioned the origin of the ancient family of St Leger, in our notice of Sir Anthony, grandfather to the eminent soldier of whom we are now to give some account. His brave father, Warham St Leger, fell in an encounter with the rebel leader, Macguire, whom he at the same time slew.

In consideration of the eminent services of these and other ancestors of this family, Sir William was early considered entitled to the favours of the crown, and received large grants and privileges from James I. In April, 1627, he was appointed lord-president of Munster, with the command of the company which belonged to his predecessor in office, Sir Edward Villiers. He was at the same time made a member of the privy council. As president, his success, prudence, and strict integrity, as well as his disinterested conduct, gained so much approbation as to induce king Charles to bestow upon him the sum of £756.

In 1639, he was elected member of parliament for the county of Cork; and immediately after, was appointed sergeant-major general of the army, in which capacity he commanded the Irish troops levied to serve in Scotland in 1640.

When the rebellion broke out, his force was little adequate to the demand of the emergency, until he was strengthened by some regiments sent over to his aid by the parliament, and joined by other southern nobles with their companies. His deficiency of force was, however, from the outset compensated by superior prudence and decision. The rebellion, which had already spread its terrors over every other province of Ireland, at last found its way to Munster. The borders of the province began to suffer from parties of the Wexford rebels, who drove off the cattle of the English about Waterford. On receiving a report of these exploits, St Leger marched with two hundred horse to recover the spoil. The season was inclement—there had been a heavy fall of snow, followed by a sharp frost; and the difficulty necessarily to be encountered, in consequence of a state of weather particularly unfavourable to the march of cavalry, was aggravated by the nature of the country to be passed. The steep and craggy passes of the Waterford mountains offered impediments more formidable than the enemy; these were, nevertheless, happily overcome by the patience and resolution of St Leger and his little band of hardy veterans. At the base of the Comeragh mountains he overtook the first small division of these robbers, whose portion of the spoil he rescued, and took nineteen prisoners. The main body was, however, six miles further on, and having gained the Suir, were preparing to cross that river with their prey. Some had crossed, but a large party stood prepared to defend their booty on the bank. Their resistance was ineffectual, and served to cause an effusion of blood; of their number one hundred and forty were killed on the spot, a considerable number drowned in their

attempt to escape across the water, and fifty prisoners were taken and conveyed into Waterford, where forty of them were executed. On the following day, while he was yet in Waterford, an account reached that city, that the archbishop of Cashel was plundered. On this he marched to Cashel, and recovered the cattle which had been driven away and lodged in an enclosure of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

This was but the beginning of troubles in Munster: the tide of rebellion soon poured in and filled every district with its waters of confusion: Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvon, and Fethard, were summoned by the rebels, and yielded without resistance. On hearing this, the president despatched orders to the lord Broghill, the earl of Barrymore, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Edward Denny, Sir John Browne, Captain William Kingsmill, and sergeant-major Searle, and was joined by these leaders, with six hundred foot and three hundred horse. He had at the same time been enabled to raise a regiment, with two troops of horse, together amounting to one hundred and twenty men: with these raw, and half-trained soldiers, it was resolved to make a stand. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he lay, and the strength of the enemy—which was at the lowest four to one compared with this combined force—the president, with his officers, took up a position at Redshard, a pass from the county of Limerick into the county of Cork, at the eastern extremity of the Ballehoura mountains. The rebel army soon appeared headed by the lord Muskerry. The president was engaged in preparations for an immediate attack, when a person of the name of Walsh, a lawyer, attended by a trumpet, came from Muskerry. The president heard with surprise, that the lord Muskerry acted under a commission from the king, which Walsh offered to prove by producing the commission, if he might have a safe conduct to go and return for the purpose. The president agreed; and having communicated this to his officers, they all agreed that he should await the return of Walsh on the morrow. Lord Broghill alone expressed his opinion that the message must be “a cheat; and that the king would never grant out commissions to those whom in his proclamations he had declared rebels.”

Next day Walsh returned, and on being admitted to a meeting with the lord-president St Leger, produced a large parchment with the broad seal affixed, containing a royal commission to lord Muskerry to raise 4000 men. On this the president returned to his officers, and informed them that lord Muskerry had really good warrant for what he did, and declared that he would dismiss his men. In this all concurred with the exception of lord Broghill, and accordingly withdrew to their houses.

The sense of having been the dupe of this unfortunate fraud, and the deepening of the troubles of the time, preyed so heavily on the spirits of St Leger, that he fell into a long and severe illness, which brought him to his grave, 2d July, 1642. He was twice married, and left four sons and one daughter.

THE O'BRIENS.

MURROUGH, BARON INCHIUIN.

DIED A. D. 1551.

AMONG the great Irish chiefs who, in the reign of Elizabeth, joined in surrendering their claim to native dignities and to ancient hereditary tenures and privileges, as then both unsafe and inexpedient to retain, none can be named more illustrious, either by descent or by the associations of a name, than Murrough O'Brien. There was none also among these chiefs to whom the change was more decidedly an advantage. The O'Briens of Thomond had, more than any of the other southern chiefs, suffered a decline of consequence and power, under the shadow of the great house of Desmond—with which they were at continual variance, and of which it had for many generations been the family policy to weaken them by division or oppression. It is mentioned by Lodge in his *Collectanea*, that it was the custom of the Desmond lords to take part with the injured branches of the O'Briens, with a view to weaken the tribe; and, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the house of Desmond was the first in Ireland for the extent of its territories, and the influence derived from numerous and powerful alliances.

Murrough O'Brien had obtained possession of the principality of Thomond by a usurpation, justified by the pretence of the ancient custom of tanistry, by which it was understood that the succession was determined by a popular election of the most worthy. By this ancient custom, so favourable to the strong, Murrough set aside his nephew, whose loss, however, he compensated, by resigning to him the barony of Ibrackan. The possession thus obtained by a title, which had long been liable to be defeated by means similar to those by which it was acquired, he prudently secured by a precaution, at this time rendered effective by the policy of the English administration, and countenanced by the example of his most eminent native countrymen.

He submitted to the lord deputy, who advised him to proceed to England. In pursuance of this advice, O'Brien repaired to England, and made the most full renunciation of his principality, and all its appurtenant possessions, privileges, and dignities, into the hands of the king. He further agreed and bound himself to renounce the title of O'Brien—to use whatever name the king should please to confer—to adopt the English dress, language, and customs. He was, accordingly, created Earl of Thomond, with remainder to his nephew Donogh O'Brien, whom he had dispossessed by the law of tanistry. As, however, this arrangement could not be quite satisfactory to Murrough, he was created baron Inchiquin, with remainder to the heirs of his body.

This earl was in the same year sworn of the privy council. He died 1551, and was succeeded in the barony of Inchiquin by his eldest son, according to the limitations of his patent, while the earldom went, by the same provisions, to his nephew's family.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN, EARL INCHIQUIN.

DIED A. D. 1674.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN was probably born nearly about the year 1616, and was the eldest son of Dermod, fifth baron of Inchiquin. He was made ward to P. Fitz-Maurice, Esq., in 1628, and had special livery of his estates in 1636. Being of a spirited and martial temper, he early took to the study of arms, and served in the Spanish army in Italy for a couple of years, for the purpose of completing his military education. He returned home in 1639.*

He soon entered on the field of public life, and in a season that was to afford full development to his warlike taste. He was appointed vice-president of Munster, under St Leger, and was with him in the campaign into the county of Waterford, already described in our notice of St Leger.

He soon distinguished himself, not only by his bravery, but by many distinguished successes on the small scale on which the early encounters of that long rebellion were fought; and when St. Leger died, he was considered by the lords-justices as the most competent person to fill his station. He was first appointed in conjunction with lord Barry, who was manager of the civil departments, as O'Brien of those connected with military affairs. Lord Barry, however, soon dying, his colleague was left to the general command. His lordship commanded in the battle of Liscarol, where he was opposed by Mountgarret, at the head of 7,000 foot, and 500 horse; and with 1,850 foot, and 400 horse gained a signal victory, with the slaughter of 800 of Mountgarret's men: when he might have marched on to Limerick, and put an end to the rebellion in that part of Ireland; but from the entire want of the necessary means to support his army upon that long march through a wasted country, he had not from this cause for some time an opportunity to perform any remarkable exploit.

After the cessation was concluded, he sent aids in men to the king; and soon after waiting upon his majesty in person to obtain his confirmation in the presidency of Munster, he had the affliction to discover that he did not stand as highly in his majesty's favour as his services had deserved. A nobleman, in no way connected with Ireland, but high in court favour, had supplanted him, and the presidency of Munster was pledged to the earl of Portland. During this visit to the court, O'Brien was also strongly affected with grief and indignation to perceive that the king, in order to strengthen himself in any way he might, was inclined to court the popular party, and to abandon the protestant interest in Ireland: urged by these considerations, and considering the interest of his country to be preferable to that of any other, he soon after his return, began to consider that for the present at least, this would be most effectually consulted by adopting the parliamentary side; and, with this opinion we must so far concur as to say, that, judging according to the principles of the party he had uni-

* Lodge.

formly acted with, he was not wrong. On this point two grounds of common prejudice are likely to bias the judgment: one is the confusion of the parties in Ireland with those in England: the other the judgment formed from the after circumstances of the war. The war between Charles and his parliament was viewed in Ireland as secondary to the great struggle for existence between two great parties who were otherwise in no way further connected with English politics than as they might promote their several interests; and for this reason, in judging of the consistency of individuals, it is not to be regarded whether or not they adhered throughout to the king or to the parliament; but whether or not they adhered to their own principles and party. As to the subsequent misfortunes of Charles, and crimes of his parliament, they could not, at the period to which we here refer, have been in the contemplation of any one, and must be left out of the question. In Ireland, the Roman catholic party, while in direct opposition to O'Brien's, were also in declared opposition to the king: the royal party soon saw reason to endeavour to conciliate them, and in this, were to a great extent successful, while the parliament, on the other hand, maintained those principles which had a closer affinity with the protestant interest throughout both kingdoms. It is thus apparent with what perfect consistency some of the most eminent persons on the stage of Irish affairs may have changed their paths and kept steady to their principles.

In 1644, we find O'Brien among the most spirited opponents of a cessation, which he viewed as more in accordance with the interests of king Charles than for the protestant interest. He adhered to the parliament, and acted under its command and by its assistance. Joining with lord Broghill, he drove the Roman catholic magistrates and inhabitants out of many of the southern towns, Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. After which he received from parliament the appointment of president of Munster. It was at a time however when the parliament was yet compelled to confine its resources to the wars in England, and their Irish adherents were left to carry on the struggle as they might themselves find the means. O'Brien was even compelled to enter into a truce with the rebels, which continued till the next spring, when the war was again renewed by the earl of Castlehaven.

On this occasion, he took the field with 1000 horse, and 1500 foot, and took several castles. But he was not supported by the parliament, and for some time nothing occurs in his history of sufficient magnitude to be specified: his zeal for the parliament was probably but small, as we find some accounts of disputes between him and their commissioners. In the year 1647, he obtained a very decided victory at Knocknones, near Mallow, 13th November, over a strong body of Irish under lord Taaffe. He had on this occasion 6000 foot, and 1200 horse: the Irish army amounted to 7000 foot, and 1076 horse. The loss of life was considerable on both sides: among the slain on the part of lord Taaffe, was the well known Alexander MacDonell, or Colkitto, so called for being lefthanded, and famous for personal prowess; his name is however best known as occurring in one of Milton's sonnets;

“ Colkitto, or MacDonell, or Galasp.”

On receiving the account of this victory, the parliament voted £10,000 for the war in Munster, and £1000, with a letter of thanks, to lord Inchiquin. This money did not however arrive, and in consequence, the army, under lord Inchiquin, began to suffer severely from want: nor was he without much cause for apprehension from the increasing armies of the Irish, who were on every side watching for the favourable moment to attack him in his distress. In this extremity he wrote a spirited remonstrance to the parliament, in which, alluding to his services, he complains, that of the £10,000 only £1500 had been remitted for the army. The delay he attributes to the misrepresentations of parliamentary agents in Ireland, with whom he considered himself to be an object of jealousy. The remonstrance was signed by his officers; but was ill-received by the parliament, who committed several of them, but soon after released them.

This may perhaps be the truest way of accounting for his shortly after opening a treaty with the marquess of Ormonde; though in his case as in that of others, the exposure of the real views of the parliamentary party may have been sufficient to cause his desertion of them. He did not publicly declare an intention, which would at the moment have only the effect of putting him completely in the power of his enemies. He became suspected by his officers, but by considerable effort, and the exertion of much firmness and self-possession, they were first repressed, and then gained over. The parliament from this began to keep a close watch over his actions; but not having it in their power to displace his lordship, he was still enabled to take such private measures as appeared best to favour the party he had recently adopted. Cromwell sent over lord Lisle, with a commission, for a limited time, under the expectation that he might thus both supersede the command, and undermine the influence, of one whom he knew to be so dangerous as O'Brien. But the expedient proved unavailing for Cromwell's purpose: the authority of O'Brien was not to be shaken by any effort of a stranger; and as no step more direct could have been conveniently or safely adopted, against one, who had not openly declared his designs in favour of the royal party; the result of this proceeding was rather an increase than a diminution of his power. At the recall of lord Lisle, the suspicion against O'Brien seems indeed to have slumbered, for he was left in the command of the whole English army in the province of Munster. This force he carefully endeavoured to strengthen, and to animate with the spirit of his own intentions. In the mean time he kept up a constant correspondence with the marquess of Ormonde, whose movements he tried to accelerate, by all the resources of entreaty and strong representation.

On the 29th September, 1648, the marquess of Ormonde landed at Cork. Lord Inchiquin publicly received him as the lieutenant of king Charles, and by this decided step, drew upon himself the long impending bolt of parliamentary indignation. The parliament voted him a traitor; but the king appointed him president of Munster. Nor was it long before he signalized his newly awakened loyalty. The marquess of Ormonde having received intelligence, that Jones, the parlia-

mentary governor of Dublin, had sent a large detachment of cavalry to Drogheda, sent lord Inchiquin after them. Inchiquin took first an entire troop by surprise; and soon after coming up with colonel Chidley Cooté at the head of three hundred horse, he gave them a bloody overthrow: killing a great number, and compelling those who escaped, to scatter in every direction.* Encouraged by this success, and not unjustly reckoning upon the impression of terror it would create among the parliamentarians in that quarter, Inchiquin sent messengers to the marquess with intelligence of his success, and proposing to besiege Drogheda. The marquess assented, and forthwith detached to his aid two regiments of foot, two cannon, with a sufficient supply of ammunition. With this reinforcement he proceeded to lay siege to Drogheda, which capitulated within a week, having made a very gallant resistance. The garrison, to the amount of six hundred good soldiers, entered into the ranks of the victorious regiments, by which lord Inchiquin was considerably strengthened for further exertion.

A little before this Owen O'Neile had joined the parliamentary side, and Inchiquin now received information that Monk, who governed in Dundalk, had orders to supply this new ally with ammunition, and that a strong party, under the command of general Farrel, had been sent by O'Neile to receive this important aid. Determining to interrupt this proceeding, Inchiquin marched towards Dundalk. Within a few miles of that city he met Farrel, who was on his departure with the supplies he had acquired; and attacking his forces vigorously, he destroyed nearly the entire party, routing the cavalry, and killing or taking the whole of five hundred foot. The supplies designed for Owen O'Neile thus fell into his hands. Advancing to Dundalk, he invested it, and in two days, contrived so much to dishearten the garrison, that they compelled Monk to surrender. This was an acquisition of exceeding importance: the military stores were richly supplied, and the whole garrison, officers, and soldiers, joined him freely. Monk departed alone for England.

But in the mean time the parliamentarians having at length prevailed in England, had their hands set free, and their attention disengaged from a conflict for existence. They now began to turn their attention to the settlement of affairs in Ireland, which they had hitherto regarded only as subsidiary or adverse to their struggles with the royalists. Cromwell was preparing to come over, and there was diffused a very general impression, that the war would on his arrival, assume a widely different character, and suffer a change of fortune unfavourable to the royal party. Under such a sense, the minds of many began to fall away, and many to undergo a prudent change. Lord Inchiquin's troops, of whom the greater part had been parliamentary, and all ready to join the most solvent employers, deserted—so that by the end of the same year in which his successes had appeared to promise a different issue, he was left without a man, and compelled to take refuge in France.

In France he was advanced by the French king to a command with the rank of lieutenant-general. And on the conquest of Catalonia

* Borlase.

appointed viceroy there. He afterwards continued for many years in the French service in Spain and the Netherlands. On one occasion he was with his family taken prisoner by the Algerine corsairs; but redeemed himself and them. During his captivity, count Schomberg had been sent to take his command in Portugal, where he had been sent to assist the Portuguese in the revolt against Spain. Lord Inchiquin returned therefore to France, where he lived privately till the restoration. He then came to England, and was by the act of settlement restored to his estate, and had £8,000 granted to him as a compensation out of the treasury, on account of his losses.

His lordship died 9th September, 1674. He had married a daughter of Sir W. St. Leger, and left three sons and four daughters.

WILLIAM, SECOND EARL OF INCHIQUN.

DIED A. D. 1692.

THIS nobleman was son of the preceding, and friend and companion in arms of Sir Philip Perceval, by whom he was educated, along with his own son, in London; the military occupations of Lord Inchiquin, joined to his duties as president of Munster, making it impossible for him to direct or superintend his education. He accompanied his father to France when following the fortunes of the exiled king, and served under him in Catalonia, and afterwards in Portugal, when he went to assist that country in its revolt against Spain. They had not proceeded far when they were taken prisoners by an Algerine corsair, to whom lord Inchiquin had to pay a large sum for the ransom of himself and family. The young lord lost an eye in the engagement, and nearly his life. In 1674, he was appointed "captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor and vice-admiral of the royal citadel of Tangier, and of the adjacent ports; in which government he continued six years."* He afterwards returned to England, where he was made colonel of a regiment of foot, and member of the privy council. His staunch adherence to the protestant interests did him little injury in the court of Charles; but in the succeeding reign he was attainted, and his estate sequestrated. In Ireland he joined the oppressed party, and headed a numerous body of protestants in the south, when they were unfortunately surprised and disarmed by major-general M'Carthy. After the revolution he was appointed governor of Jamaica, and vice-admiral of the seas. The climate disagreeing with him, he lived only sixteen months after his arrival there; dying at St. Jago de la Vega, January, 1691, and was buried in the parish church. He married twice: first, the lady Margaret Boyle, daughter to Roger, first earl of Orrery, by whom he had three sons and one daughter; and secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of George Chandos, and widow of the infidel lord Herbert of Cherbury.

William, his eldest son, was also attainted by king James' parliament, and served under king William both in Ireland and Flanders; after which he had a long and prosperous life.

* Lodge.

SIR PHILIP PERCEVAL.

BORN A. D. 1605—DIED A. D. 1647.

THE subject of our present memoir was the son of Richard Perceval, Esq., lord of Tykenham, who possessed a large property in England, and having been officially employed in Ireland, subsequently purchased those extensive estates in Munster which have been since enjoyed by his posterity. Being the friend and favourite of lord Burleigh, and having been signally useful to the queen in deciphering Spanish documents, which gave the first certain intelligence respecting the intended invasion of the Armada, his son Sir Philip entered life with advantages of no common kind, and possessed of talents and acquirements of a very high order. We accordingly find him holding official situations of trust and emolument before he was twenty. He was given immense grants of forfeited lands in the counties of Cork, Tipperary and Wexford; and having been made escheator of the province of Munster, and a commissioner of survey in 1637, he was allowed "to impark 1600 acres free warren and chace, along with many other privileges; and this manor is now the estate of the lord Egmont, and one of the noblest royalties in the three kingdoms."* Having such large possessions in Ireland which were each year augmented, he gradually transferred a great portion of his English property thither, and became at length the proprietor of about 100,000 (English) acres in the finest parts of the country, besides holding numerous lucrative situations, many of which were for life. His residence in that country gave him frequent opportunities of perceiving many slight but sure indications of the fermentation that was gradually spreading through the kingdom, and early in the summer of 1641, he felt so assured of the approaching outbreak, that he instantly set about repairing his castles and places of defence, arming his followers, purchasing horses, and laying in ammunition, which proved of the utmost importance, not only to himself, but to that entire portion of the kingdom which was preserved chiefly through his instrumentality. His castle of Liscarrol was a place of so much strength, and so well defended, that it sustained a siege of eleven days against seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, besides artillery; and his castle of Annagh, in the same neighbourhood, when subsequently attacked by lord Muskerry and general Barry, with an army of five thousand men, resisted successfully, and with much detriment to the rebels, until betrayed into their hands by the treachery of some of the garrison. The rebels carried with them to the attack of Liscarrol, one battering piece which weighed 6892 pounds, and which they placed in a hollow piece of timber, and dragged with the aid of twenty-five yoke of oxen over bogs which were impassable to any wheeled conveyance. On Tuesday, August 20th, they sat down before the castle, which was strongly defended both by art and nature. "On the south and west side of it lay plain and fruitful grounds, environed with a pleasant hill looking

* Lodge.

into the county of Cork, but on the north and east it was bounded with woods, bogs, and barren ground. Serjeant Thomas Ryeman commanded in it with thirty men, and a competent quantity of victuals and ammunition. The enemy planted their cannon on a little round rocky hill, within musket-shot of the castle, and Ryeman surrendered it on Friday, September 2d, in the afternoon, though he was promised relief the next morning.* That very night lords Inchiquin, Barri-more, Dungarvon, Kinalmeaky and Broghill arrived at Mallock, and on the day following was the battle of Liscarrol, which was fatal to lord Kinalmeaky, and nearly so to lord Inchiquin. They however dislodged and dispersed the rebels with great loss, seven hundred of whom were slain, while lord Inchiquin lost only twelve men. No quarter was given, unless to two or three officers, one of whom was colonel Richard Butler, a son of lord Ikerrin, who was the last to leave the field.

The state of the country at this time made it necessary to establish many garrisons in the disturbed districts, and to send them provisions from a distance, as none would be supplied to them in their immediate neighbourhoods. Much want and suffering had accrued from the delays consequent on selecting convoys out of different companies, and to prevent the recurrence of this, lord Ormonde, then lieutenant-general, formed a company of firelocks for the especial purpose of conveying those provisions, and gave the command of it to Sir Philip Perceval, who expended large sums in providing it with men and arms at his own cost as they became necessary. This appointment gave umbrage, as we have already mentioned in a preceding memoir, to the earl of Leicester, who considered it an infringement on his authority, but even the lords-justices on this occasion interposed, and the commission was confirmed to Sir Philip Perceval. Early in the rebellion he had been appointed commissary-general, and had performed the duties of that important office with unexampled zeal, energy, and efficiency. He had been sent to Ireland without money, but with letters from the lord-lieutenant, and the speaker of the House of Commons, to the lords-justices, assuring them that within twenty days the earl of Leicester would follow with £100,000 for the supply of the army, and that in the mean time Mr Frost, the commissioner in London, would forward to them any provisions required. None of these specious promises were performed, and after apportioning and dispensing whatever provisions could be obtained from the ill-supplied stores of Dublin, Sir Philip had no alternative but either to see the army driven to starvation and mutiny, or to supply their pressing necessities out of his own purse. He accordingly distributed £1380, which, with the enormous multiplied losses that were entailed on him by the rebellion, left his wife and children, who resided in London, with scarcely the common comforts to which they had been habituated. He accordingly petitioned parliament to refund to them a small portion of the money he had so liberally advanced, and an order was issued for paying them £200, which however never was given though often solicited. A passage, which we extract from Carte, will give some idea of those losses:—

* Carte.

"Sir Philip Perceval had lost by the rebellion a landed estate of £2000 a-year, personal estate of £20,000, and the benefit of several offices worth £2000 a-year, which he held for life. He had as clerk of the crown of the king's bench, been at a very great charge to make up records of indictments of high treason against three thousand of the rebels, and those for the most part noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, and been obliged to prosecute two thousand of them to an outlawry. He had, without any charge to the state, raised and armed a competent number of soldiers, horse and foot, and maintained them for a year to defend his castles of Liscarrol and Annagh in the remotest and most exposed quarters of the protestant party in Munster. He had done the like with regard to those of Temple, Conila, and Walchestown, till the treaty of cessation, and had maintained his house of Castlewarning, about nine miles from Dublin, for some years after. He had relieved three hundred distressed English for twelve months together in Dublin, and having been made commissary-general of the victuals of the army, he had spent £2000 of his own estate in that service, besides goods of his own, and what money and goods he could procure of others; had contracted an arrear of £4000 and upwards, for entertainments due to him for his several employments in the war; and had engaged himself in more than £10,000 for provisions to feed the army, having never refused to engage himself or his estate for them upon any occasion." When in 1645 he attended the English House of Commons to solicit the repayment of a portion of this heavy expenditure, they had the baseness to resist his just claims on the plea of his having been a party to the cessation, which they designated as "a dangerous plot," and notwithstanding his able and unanswerable "vindication," from which we extracted a paragraph in our memoir of the duke of Ormonde, they persevered in rejecting his suit, nor did he at any subsequent period receive the slightest compensation for such sacrifices. His noble and disinterested ardour for the preservation of the kingdom was not however to be quenched, even by personal wrong, and we find him in subsequent years meeting every emergency with the same liberal and self-sacrificing spirit, and when in 1645 the officers of the Irish army, who continued to be exposed to injustice and sufferings by the unprincipled conduct of the government, had to lay their grievances before parliament, they gave their most unqualified testimony to the meritorious efforts and sacrifices of Sir Philip, and added, "that he was the only instrument under heaven of their preservation." As the rebellion advanced, and the public funds diminished, he was still impelled on each new emergency, to draw upon his own personal resources, and before the protracted struggle terminated, he had expended £18,000, for which neither he nor his family ever received any indemnification. The numerous garrisons he still continued to support in the south, were powerfully instrumental in obstructing the advances of the overwhelming forces led by lord Mountgarret, from the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, who, after proceeding as far as the Ballihowra mountains, and meeting with successive checks and oppositions, at length retired, and subsequently dispersed.

In 1644, when the king consented to meet the deputies from the Irish confederates at Oxford, he appointed Sir Philip as one of the

commissioners; and when the marquess of Ormonde wrote to lord Digby secretary of state upon the subject, he refers him to Sir Philip as the person capable of giving him the fullest information, and he adds, "and now that I have mentioned Sir Philip Perceval, I may not pass him by, without a very particular recommendation, as of a man exceedingly knowing in all the affairs of this kingdom; that hath been before, in the war, in the treaty, and since the cessation, extremely industrious to advance the king's service." &c., &c. This testimony gains some additional importance from the moment at which it was given. Sir Philip took a most prominent and decided part in the fruitless transactions at Oxford, strenuously resisting the absurd and exorbitant demands of the Roman Catholics, while with less than his usual judgment, he pressed the equally exorbitant claims of the opposite party. At the conclusion of that treaty, where nothing was concluded, he found he had become so obnoxious to the Irish, that it would be unsafe to return amongst them, and receiving the most earnest and pressing applications at the same time from the parliament through his friend Holles, he was at length prevailed upon to join their ranks, and represent the borough of Newport in Cornwall, which had been long kept vacant for him, probably through the interest of Pym, who was his near relation.

In the year following, when the parliament sent over Sir Robert King, Mr Annesley and others, with large supplies of money and provisions to their long neglected army in Ulster, both Sir Robert and Sir Philip Perceval had the courage or the folly successively to try what their personal influence, and specious representations could effect, in attempting to warp the exalted and invulnerable loyalty of the marquess of Ormonde, but they quickly relinquished the thankless and hopeless undertaking.

The province of Ulster, which had still great cause for dissatisfaction in the nominal protection, but real neglect of the parliament, selected Sir Philip for the management of its affairs at the other side of the channel, and he executed his trust with such zeal and fidelity, that he quickly excited the jealousy of the independent party. This was soon after, much heightened by his firm and conscientious opposition to those deep and dark designs which circumstances were daily developing. They in vain assailed his character with accusations and slanders which were triumphantly repelled, and at length relinquished, as each new investigation only brought to light fresh instances of self-devotion, zeal, and integrity, in the various offices which he had held, during a period of unequalled trial and difficulty.

On the termination of the cessation in 1647, the army in Munster, under the command of lord Inchiquin, committed to Sir Philip the direction and management of their interests, "a commission (as things then stood,) of great difficulty and hazard; but he cheerfully undertook it upon this sole principle, which he ever professed, *that he would willingly contribute his life and fortune for the public or his friend*; both which he verified by his constant practice."* The army of lord Inchiquin was at this period exposed to great privations, and Sir

* Lodge.

Philip was secretly endeavouring to incite the earl to the step he so soon after took, of casting off the trammels of his hard task-masters, and again enlisting himself on the side of monarchy. His efforts and intentions were probably suspected, for the bitter and rancorous attacks of the independents were again renewed, and they even passed a vote "that no man, who consented to the cessation, should sit in parliament," for the sole purpose of excluding him from that assembly. To these charges he made an animated and successful defence, and resumed his seat, with added honour from the signal defeat of enemies, though supported by power and unrestrained by principle.

This daring and determined faction daily gaining ground, at length impeached several of the leading members of the house, who had opposed their measures, and compelled them reluctantly to withdraw from the contest; while a small but resolute band headed by Sir Philip Perceval, still continued to contest the ground with them inch by inch, notwithstanding the rapid approach of the army, nor did he desist from his arduous labours, until by their "dishonest victory" they had actually become masters of the city. He then retired into the country until the following September, when he learned that his enemies were again actively engaged in seeking for fresh causes of accusation, and intended impeaching him for his conduct as commissary-general. He instantly returned to London and demanded his trial, but from the groundless absurdity of the charges, it was still postponed. A strong remonstrance against the general measures and proceedings of the independents, was at this moment forwarded to him by the army commanded by lord Inchiquin, which he fearlessly presented, and though alone and unsupported amongst his enemies, he was upheld by his own integrity, and their constrained respect. His constitution however was undermined by the long continuance of his mental and bodily labours, and he at length sunk under an illness of only a few days duration. He died November 10th, 1647, regretted and respected by all parties, and was buried in the church of St Martin-in-the-fields, Westminster; primate Usher preaching his funeral sermon. The parliament, to mark their respect for his memory, took upon itself the expenses of his funeral, and voted £200 to lady Perceval for the purpose.

Sir Philip had married in 1626, Catharine, grand-daughter of Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, by whom he had nine children; five sons and four daughters.

Dr Robert Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, wrote the following epitaph, which was engraved on his monument:—

Epitaphium clarissimi viri Philippi Perceavelli,
Equitis aurati Hiberniæ, qui obiit bonis omnibus
Desideratissimus 10^o die Novembris, A. D. 1647.
Fortunam expertus jacet hic Philippus utramque,
Dotibus ac genere nobilitatus eques:
Qui nisi (sed quis non multis) peccasset in uno
Quod vitio vertat, vix habet invidia,
Flevit R. Episcopus Kilmorensis Maxwell.

THEOBALD TAAFE, EARL OF CARLINGFORD.

DIED A.D. 1677.

THIS nobleman was the second viscount of the name, and in 1639 was member for the county of Sligo. He took an early and active part in concert with lord Clanricarde and others, in endeavouring to suppress the rebellion in its first stages, when the resources of the kingdom, and the loyalty of its leading men would have been quite sufficient for the purpose; before the perverse and treacherous policy of the lords-justices, aided by the faction in the English House of Commons, insisted on the necessity of large reinforcements from England and Scotland, thus weakening the power of the king at home, and irritating the prejudices of his Irish subjects. The lords Taaffe and Dillon embarked for England immediately after the prorogation of the Irish parliament, in the hope of being able in some degree to counteract the effect of the lords-justices' urgent letter, sent by Mr Fitzgerald (one of the prosecutors of lord Strafford,) upon the subject. They were driven by a storm on the coast of Scotland, where they landed, and were making the best of their way from thence to London, when they were suddenly seized by order of the House of Commons, their papers taken from them, and they themselves kept in close custody for several months; when the parliament having obtained its objects, and the rebellion become universal, the vigilance of their guards relaxed, and they were allowed to escape. They at once proceeded to join the king who was then at York, and though too late to assist him by their counsels, it became each day more important that they should do so by their arms. Lord Taaffe attended him in his English wars as a volunteer, and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, to use his influence with the recusants and Roman catholic nobility, (he being of the same creed,) to make proposals for a temporary cessation of arms, as, although the marquess of Ormonde had received directions to treat with the rebels, he thought it inconsistent with the dignity of the king, to take any step until they had renewed their former propositions on the subject. Lord Taaffe accordingly proceeded to Kilkenny, where the general assembly of the confederates were to meet, accompanied by colonel John Barry; they encountered many delays and difficulties in their negotiations, but at length it was agreed by the major part of the assembly, that they should apply for a cessation for twelve months, accompanied by certain stipulations which were to be arranged by their agents with lord Ormonde at whatever place he should appoint for a meeting. Lord Taaffe, in his zeal to bring about this desirable object, had encouraged several of the members to expect a free parliament, but lord Ormonde, with his usual high sense of honour, would not for a moment leave them under the impression that he was authorized to hold out to them such a hope. After some further delays, the treaty, so desirable to all parties, was concluded with the sanction of the council and lords-justices.

As the king's difficulties increased, he naturally looked to Ireland for aid, and lord Taaffe undertook to raise two thousand men for his

relief, but his efforts, along with those of colonel Barry, Power, Sir John Dorgan, &c., were defeated through the treacherous intervention of the supreme council, who refused to let any troops leave the kingdom, but such as they should themselves send; and notwithstanding all their specious professions, the promised aid was still withheld.

The successes of the troops under Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, induced the lord-lieutenant to grant a commission to lord Taaffe, for the purpose of levying a sufficient body of troops for the suppression and subjugation of all such "as in breach of the cessation had presumed to enter into any of the quarters allotted in Connaught to such as were obedient to his majesty's government." Crowds flocked to his standard, and he besieged and took Tulske, and a variety of garrisons in the neighbourhood. He also accompanied lord Ormonde into Westmeath, and was employed by him in various offices of trust and responsibility. He was constituted general of the province of Munster, but lost this situation in 1646, when the marquess concluded a peace with the Irish; on the interruption of this peace through the intrigues of the nuncio, aided by O'Neile, the marquess came to the determination of delivering up Dublin to the parliament, rather than let it fall into the hands of the rebels. On his making some delay however in delivering the regalia into the hands of the commissioners, they placed guards on lord Taaffe, colonel Barry, and Milo Power, and issued orders for the apprehension of Sir Edmond Verney, colonels George Vane, Hammond and others. When the marquess remonstrated with them on the breach of the articles, they did not assign any reason for their proceedings, but with their usual arbitrary tone, told him they were competent judges of their own actions.

After the defeat of Preston by colonel Jones at Dungan-hill, lord Digby, who was at Leixlip waiting for an opportunity of passing into France, wrote to lord Taaffe, who commanded an army of 8000 foot, and 1200 horse in Munster, earnestly entreating "that he would not for any apparent bettering of his circumstances, or out of an impolitick courage and magnanimity expose his troops that campaign to the hazard of a battle, but to stand as cautiously as possible upon the defensive; always remembering that all their hopes, either of serving his majesty in that kingdom, or in failure thereof, of making their own fortunes abroad, depended on the preservation of that army." This advice seems to have been influential in the first instance with lord Taaffe, who gave no opposition to lord Inchiquin on his entering Tipperary, and putting that county under contribution for the supply of his army. Carte gives a curious fact respecting the taking of Cahir castle which we shall extract:—"He (lord Inchiquin) entered this county on Saturday, September 3d, very indifferently provided for any considerable enterprise, having no artillery with him for want of carriages to draw it, nor any larger provision of bread than the soldiers could carry in their knapsacks. Having taken ten or twelve small castles, he passed the river Sure, near the castle of Cahir, an ancient fort, environed by two branches of that river, and on account of its situation, as well as of the apparent strength of its fortifications,

* Carte.

deemed by the English officers, as well as the rebels, to be impregnable. This was enough to discourage all attempts upon the place, notwithstanding the great importance thereof, had not an accident occasioned an attack, and furnished Inchiquin with hopes of success. One of his horse, plundering near the town, was wounded by some of the Irish, and carried prisoner into the castle, from whence he was allowed to send to the English army for a surgeon to dress his wounds. Inchiquin had of late encouraged officers who had formerly served the king, to come into his army, and among others, had admitted one colonel James Hipplesley into his quarters, upon some assurance given him by a friend of his doing a service. Hipplesley was an ingenious man, skilled in surgery and fortifications, and undertook to go in disguise to the castle, and to dress the wounded soldier. This he did with so much caution and circumspection, that he discovered perfectly the condition of the place in every respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially some defects in the walls of the outward bawne, which rendered it assaultable. He observed likewise so much timorousness in the wardens, that he judged the taking of the bawne would probably induce them to surrender the castle. Upon these observations, it was resolved to make the attempt; and Hipplesley himself, at the head of a party, attacking the defective place, carried the outward bawne and some out-turrets by storm. A few hours after, the castle surrendered upon quarter for life; though Inchiquin upon entering it found that he could not have reduced it by force, had the garrison but had the courage to stand on their defence. Thus easily was a castle reduced, which in 1599, had held out for two months against the earl of Essex, and an army of twenty thousand men." Lord Taaffe was so enraged at the pusillanimity of the garrison that he had the governor and an hundred of the men, tried by a council of war, and shot. This conquest of lord Inchiquin's was productive of important results, for besides supplying his famishing army with present provisions, and ample resources for the future, his name spread such a terror that all either submitted or fled at his approach. Lord Taaffe gave no opposition to his progress, and retired with his army from Cashel as he advanced towards that town; cardinal Panzirolli imputes this to a secret understanding, existing between him and lord Inchiquin, but subsequent events do not warrant such an opinion. The inhabitants of Cashel deserted the city and fled to the cathedral, which had been strongly fortified and garrisoned by Taaffe, and was built on a rock adjoining the city. After its reduction, and before lord Inchiquin could stay the slaughter, about twenty of the priests had been killed, which caused such an outcry amongst the Irish, that Taaffe was compelled to assemble his army at a most inclement season of the year, and under signal disadvantages. He had with him seven thousand five hundred foot, and four regiments of horse, three thousand five hundred of which he placed on the right wing under lieutenant-general Macdonnel, along with two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Purcel; while he himself took the left wing, with four thousand foot, and two regiments of horse. Lord Inchiquin with quiet confidence led his disciplined and victorious troops to the encounter. They met at a place called Knocknoness, and colonel Purcel charged the English horse with

such impetuosity that they at once gave way, while the Highlanders under Macdonnel, throwing down their pieces after the first fire, rushed into the midst of them, sword in hand, and after an immense slaughter, drove them from off the field, taking possession of the cannon and carriages of the enemy. Lord Inchiquin in the mean time attacked the left wing, commanded by lord Taaffe, who fought with determined courage, but was ill-supported by his Munster regiments, all of whom, excepting lord Castleconnel's, fled from the field after the first onset. In vain did lord Taaffe attempt to recall and rally them, the receding torrent rushed from him at all sides, while with his own hand he cut down numbers, and thus at least intercepted their flight. Macdonnel sent to lord Taaffe notice of his success, but becoming impatient at his messengers not returning, he retired to a small eminence to observe the progress of the battle. On his return he was unfortunately intercepted by a small party of the enemy and killed, while his brave Highlanders, without a general to command them, stood their ground till seven hundred of them were killed, when the remainder threw down their arms and asked for quarter. The Irish lost about three thousand men, amongst whom were the flower of their army, along with their ammunition and baggage.

Lord Inchiquin, who always in his heart leaned to the monarchy, at length joined lord Taaffe and others in sending communications to lord Ormonde, and in their earnest entreaties to him to return to Ireland. Taaffe and Preston took a solemn oath to stand by one another in support of the king's right, and, in obedience to lord Ormonde; and lord Inchiquin made solemn protestations "to live and die with him in the prosecution of his majesty's service."

The cessation was at length established between the friends and supporters of the king, and the confederates, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the nuncio and O'Neile, the latter of whom the assembly at Kilkenny had publicly proclaimed to be a traitor and a rebel. He however wrote a letter conjointly with his officers to that body, desiring a safe conduct for himself and others of his party, that they might lay their grievances before that assembly. This Taaffe strenuously opposed, though by doing so he ran the risk of a committal through the influence of O'Neile's friends.

About this period the generals of particular provinces were suppressed, and lords Taaffe and Castlehaven became candidates for the appointment of general of horse. The situation had been promised to the latter two years before, and he was accordingly nominated, but lord Taaffe's merits were so generally acknowledged, and so very great, that he felt much discontent at the preference being given to his rival; his devoted attachment however to the royal cause, then in so tottering a state, made him suppress all private feelings, and continue his arduous and energetic efforts for its support. The year following, on the death of Sir Thomas Lucas, he was made master of the ordnance, a situation for which his talents and long experience had peculiarly qualified him. Preston in his turn became discontented at this nomination, and it has even been hinted, that in consequence of his disappointment, he joined in the vile plot which was about this time set on foot to assassinate lord Ormonde.

In 1651, when Synot and Antonio were sent by the duke of Lorraine to treat with lord Ormonde respecting the loan he had previously promised lord Taaffe, the marquess, who was then despatching him to the king, delayed his voyage for the purpose of having the treaty previously adjusted. He, with Athenry and Geoffrey Browne, were empowered to make the arrangements with Synot, but while they were on the road to Galway, captain Antonio hastily sailed out of the harbour, leaving behind him lord Taaffe, and his other passengers, whose baggage he had on board; he however took lord Taaffe on board at a creek in Ireconaght, and until he was gone Synot made various excuses to delay the conference with his colleagues, and then said, that as Antonio was gone he had no means of raising the money.

Lord Taaffe arrived in the island of Jersey in July, and obtained a letter from the duke of York to the duke of Lorraine, which he took with him to Paris, where he remained until November, when he proceeded to Brussels, and delivered his credentials to the duke. After perusing the papers relative to the loan, he expressed his willingness to assist the nation, but added, that he saw no person invested with sufficient authority from the king, with whom he could conclude the treaty. Taaffe at once engaged that any place in that kingdom, which was in the king's possession, should be delivered to him as security for the repayment of the sum. He also proposed on his own authority, a marriage between the duke of York and the duke of Lorraine's illegitimate daughter, by the princess of Cantecroix, a child not three years old. Whether it was the prospect of this alliance, or considerations more exclusively personal that swayed him, he at once delivered to lord Taaffe £5000 to buy arms and ammunition, which the latter forwarded to Ireland before Christmas. "Lord Taaffe," writes Carte, "at first gave him his bond in behalf of the kingdom for that sum; but the duke returned it to him in a few days, with a message, that his lordship's word was of more value to him, and what he had given was but an earnest of the future supplies he should send the nation. Taaffe easily imagined he had some design in that civility, and desired to know what retribution he expected from that poor kingdom. The duke ascribed all to his compassion for the miserable circumstances of the poor catholics of Ireland, which affected him so much, that if invited by them, he would personally appear in their defence, with such a fund of money and other necessities, as would probably in a short time recover the kingdom. Taaffe asking him by what title or commission he would undertake that work, he answered, he would seek no other title than duke of Lorraine; but that he expected an entire obedience from all persons, and would not serve by commission from any body." Taaffe was rather startled by these conditions, and proposed that some person of rank should be sent into Ireland to treat with the marquess of Ormonde, or some one in authority in that kingdom. Lord Taaffe who seemed fruitful in matrimonial speculations, suggested the possibility of a marriage being brought about between Mademoiselle de Banners, the sister of the princess of Cantecroix, and the youthful earl of Ossory, the lady being ten years his senior. The marquess of Ormonde however declined the consideration of the subject until the contemplated union of the duke of York, and the infant princess should

have been decided upon. The duke of Lorraine sent his envoy to Ireland, and it was agreed that £20,000 should be advanced upon the security of the towns of Limerick and Galway, but the duke of Lorraine's proposals, accompanying this promise, were of so very suspicious and questionable a nature, that the queen and the marquess of Ormonde at once saw that it would come to nothing.

On lord Taaffe's arrival in Paris, he was mortified at finding not only the inauspicious state of things concerning the treaty, but that the queen had been seriously offended by his officious though well-meaning interference respecting the marriage of the duke of York. Through the kind offices of the marquess he was however quickly reinstated in her favour, and on his return to Brussels, would take no part in the unauthorized and unwarrantable treaty concluded between the duke and Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr Browne, though these gentlemen added lord Taaffe's signature to it after his departure.

On Cromwell's act of parliament for the settlement of Ireland, he was excepted from pardon for life and estate, but after the restoration, the king ordered that he should be paid £800 a-year out of the treasury monthly, for his personal expenses, until his estate should be restored to him, and that he should be put into possession of it as expeditiously as possible. The acts of settlement accordingly reinstated him, along with his relatives Christopher Taaffe of Braganstown, and Theophilus Taaffe of Cookstown in their respective estates, which had been severally forfeited. The king also, having a strong personal regard for him, "was pleased," as is stated in his patent, June, 1662, "as an especial mark of the gracious sense he had of his eminent services for him and his interests, to honour him with the dignity of earl of Carlingford in the county of Louth, entailing that honour on the heirs male of his body," and he was accordingly advanced to that title with the creation fee of £20. In consideration also of his losses and services, and for the better maintenance of the title, the king further granted to him £4000 of the rents payable to the crown, out of the retrenched lands of soldiers and adventurers, and settled on him in 1676, a pension of £500 a-year.

Lord Taaffe married twice; his first wife was Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, who brought him a large fortune, and by whom he had six sons and one daughter; his second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Pershall, who out-lived him, and by whom he had no family. He died December the 31st, 1677, and was buried at Ballymote.

THE CHICHESTERS.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

DIED A. D. 1624.

THE name and lineage of Chichester has been traced by the heralds to an ancient family in Devonshire.

The subject of this memoir was the second son of Sir John Chichester, knight: his mother was Gertrude, daughter of Sir William Courtney of Powderham castle, in Devonshire: he was born at Raleigh, his father's seat in that county. A precocious promise of talent was probably the occasion of his being at an early age sent to pursue his studies at the university. But there was an activity in his temperament which soon rendered him impatient of a studious life. A daring frolic, more suited to the manners of his time than the present, made it necessary for him to fly the country. The queen's purveyors, instruments of despotic power, and by no means limiting their exactions to the demands of law, were the objects of popular hatred, and considered (like the bailiffs of the last generation) as fair game for either mischief or spite: they were universally set down as robbers, and it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the precedent of prince Henry, and ease the robber of his plunder. This exploit was followed by discovery, and Chichester was compelled to save himself from the resentment of the queen, who little relished a joke for which she was to have paid; the unpopularity of the exaction made it dangerous, as the laughter of the public was imbibed by discontent; it was no laughing matter to Elizabeth. Chichester betook himself to France, where his personal bravery and military talent recommended him to the favour of Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation soon reached the English court, where it was not lost upon the ear of the queen. It was her study to encircle her throne with genius and heroism, and Chichester received his pardon.

After some years spent in the military service, he was sent into Ireland, where his services were numerous, and his promotion rapid. He commanded the troops garrisoned at Carrickfergus in 1599, and was, during the entire of that war which we have related in the life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, among the most active, successful, and trusted leaders under lord Mountjoy. In 1603, he was appointed by patent, governor of Carrickfergus, with the fee of thirteen shillings per day for life. In the next year a new patent extended his powers; he was appointed commander of all the forces and governor of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, of which the towns, forts, shipping and fisheries were placed at his discretion. This was followed by another patent, appointing him lord-deputy of Ireland. He began his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing two for the first time, as already described, so as to establish justice and order throughout the country. He at the same time issued proclamations declaring the abolition of tanistry, and enforcing the laws. Among the numerous projects for the plantation of Ulster, that of Chichester was selected, and its details carried through by his own skill and activity.

In recompense for these great services to Ireland, king James made him a grant of Inishowen, the territory of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, with other rights and lands in the province of Ulster.

On the meeting of parliament, Sir Arthur was created baron Chichester of Belfast. In the preamble to his patent there occurs a remarkable passage, which we here extract because it evidently contains the idea of James and his councillors concerning this island and its condition:—"Hiberniæ, insulæ post Britanniam omnium insularum

occidentalium maximæ et amplissimæ, et pulcherrimæ, cœli et soli felicitate et fœcunditate affluentis et insignis; sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditionum et rebellionum fluctibus jactatæ; neenon superstitioni et barbaribus moribus, præsertim in provincia Ultoniæ, addictæ et immersæ."

We here also insert a letter to Chichester from the king, who, when favouritism did not influence his feeble character, was a just and discriminating observer:—"As at first you were called by our election without seeking for it, to this high place of trust and government of our kingdom of Ireland, and have so faithfully discharged the duties thereof, so now we are pleased, merely of our own grace, without any mediation of friends, without your suit or ambition, to advance you to the state of a baron of that kingdom, in acknowledgment of your many acceptable services performed to us there."

Chichester continued in his government for the ten years ending with the parliament of 1613, the cardinal period of Irish history. As the events in which he was a principal actor are those which, from their primary importance, we have selected for the introduction to this period, we may pass on the more briefly to the end of this memoir.

Chichester was a second time appointed lord deputy in 1614. On this occasion he maintained his wonted activity, by repressing many disorders in the counties of Leinster, especially in those more wild and uncultivated mountain districts of the county of Wicklow, which he reduced to subjection.

In 1615 he obtained the king's permission to retire from his arduous post, but was in the next year appointed lord high treasurer of Ireland. He built a splendid house for his own residence at Carrickfergus.

In 1622, he was sent ambassador to the Palatinate. To enter on the subject of this embassy we should occupy a space disproportionate to the scale of this memoir. He returned in October the same year, and was sworn of the privy council. He died in the year 1624, in London, and was interred in a chapel on the north side of the church of St. Nicholas in Carrickfergus, about eight months after his death.

He was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrott, by whom he had one son who died in little more than a month after his birth. In consequence his estates descended to his next brother, Sir Edward Chichester. As we shall not have to offer any further notice of this person, we may here add, that his brother's title had been limited to his issue male; the title fell, but as Sir Edward was a person of influence and very serviceable, King Charles revived the title and added a step by the title of viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER, FIRST EARL OF DONEGAL.

BORN A. D. JUNE, 1606—DIED A. D. 1674.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER, nephew to the first nobleman of that name, and son to Edward viscount Chichester, and Anne daughter and heiress

of John Coplestone of Eggesford in the county of Devon, commenced early the career of arms, in which he was subsequently so eminently distinguished. Before he was of age he was nominated captain to the first troop of horse that should become vacant, and was appointed to it in 1627, on the resignation of lord Valentia. He became member for the county of Antrim in 1639, captain of sixty-three carbines, with the pay of £1 4s. per day, and arrived at the rank of colonel before the breaking out of the rebellion.* Carte, in describing its earliest manifestations, says, "Colonel Arthur Chichester was resident at Carrickfergus, when the news of the insurrection was first brought thither upon Saturday, October 23, about ten of the clock at night. He immediately ordered drums to be beat, and fires to be made in the most eminent places of the country, to raise the people, who, grown secure by a long peace, were exceedingly startled at the noise of war. He took a view of the arms lodged in the stores of the castle, and laid by as many of them as could be spared to be distributed the next day. The country came in apace, bringing what arms they could get, so that in a short time the streets were full of men; but most of them provided with no better weapons than pitchforks." He adds, "Edward, lord viscount Chichester, immediately sent away an express to Scotland, to advertise his majesty of the rebellion, the state of the country, and the danger that was likely to ensue. Colonel Chichester likewise, leaving only fifty musqueteers under the command of captain Roger Lindon to guard the castle, delivered out the rest of the arms, with powder and bullets, to the country people, and formed them into companies, putting the most considerable gentlemen of the county over them as captains, and making others officers for the present necessity."

The rebels surprised Newry, where Sir Arthur Tyringham and his company were quartered: he with difficulty escaped, but his men were seized and disarmed: they also took several persons of note prisoners, and what was more to their purpose, possessed themselves of seventy barrels of gunpowder, and a large quantity of arms out of the castle.

Colonel Chichester held a consultation whether it might be best to keep within the walls, for the defence of Carrickfergus, of which his father was governor, or to march out and meet the enemy in the field. The latter course was adopted on lord Montgomery of Arde's promising to meet them at Lisnegarvy (now called Lisburn) with one thousand men. They accordingly, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the town and castle, mustered about three hundred men, which was strengthened by one hundred and fifty from Antrim as they advanced on their march. The lord of Ardes lay that night at Drumbee, with about eight hundred horse and foot, from whence he marched the next day to Lisnegarvy, where he was met on the following by colonel Chichester.

On finding that Dromore was nearly deserted by its inhabitants, and that colonel Matthews only succeeded in retaining that small number together, by keeping the solitary merchant who remained in the town (of the name of Boyd,) in confinement; (for if the people had seen him depart, none would have remained;) colonel Chichester took with him two

* Lodge.

hundred foot of his own, lord Conway's troops of horse which were well armed, besides one troop of light horse to its relief: when he arrived there he found it utterly defenceless, and surrounded in all directions by the enemy. He sent out scouts to view the country, and made his troopers remain on horseback all night, but most of the foot soldiers and the light horse scattered in various directions in search of plunder. The next day, on receiving intelligence that the enemy was advancing in vast numbers, he assembled as many of his forces as could be collected, and went out to meet them. When he was about half-a-mile from the town, he saw about fifteen hundred advancing in three divisions, in the direction he had taken, and was most earnest to bring them to an immediate engagement, but was dissuaded by some old and experienced officers, who saw that the rebels had seized on a most advantageous position; and that if colonel Chichester attacked them with his handful of men, he would not only have numbers to contend with, but every disadvantage of ground either for attack or retreat. He accordingly returned to Dromore for the remainder of his men, and marched back to Lisnegarvy, determining to attack them the next day, when he should be reinforced by lord Montgomery's forces.

On the following morning they accordingly marched towards Dromore, but when Sir Con Magenis, who had taken possession of the town in the interval, heard of their approach, he set fire to it and retired to Newry. After this, the various forces returned to their garrisons, and lord Conway's troop, with a party of two hundred foot, were stationed in Lisnegarvy. Sir Phelim O'Neile remained the chief part of November in his camp at Newry, from whence, on the 8th, he despatched about three thousand men to take Lisnegarvy, hearing how ill it was provided with either men or ammunition. The garrison had no notice of their approach, so that some of the enemy had entered the streets, and were near seizing two of their field-pieces, before they were aware of their arrival. The inhabitants, unprepared with any other weapons of defence, pulled the fire out of their hearths, and set their houses in a blaze around them; and captains Burley and Dines, leading out their men, rushed upon them with such impetuosity, that they quickly drove them out of the town without losing one of their own men, while eighty of the rebels were slain. Sir Phelim made no further attack upon the town until the latter end of the month, when he sent an army of four thousand men against it, which was nearly doubled by reinforcements from other rebel generals, before it reached Lisnegarvy. The details of the gallant and successful resistance which it made, have been simply and circumstantially given by an eyewitness, who inserted an entry of it in one of the old vestry books, which still exists, belonging to the church at Lisburn, and as the document is curious, we give it verbatim:—

Lisnegarvy, the 28th of November, 1641

"A brief relation of the miraculous victory there that day over the first formed army of the Irish, soon after their rebellion, which broke out the 23d of October, 1641.

"Sir Phelémy O'Neil, Sir Conn Maginnis, their generals then in Ulster, and major-general Plunkett, (who had been a soldier in

foreign kingdoms) having enlisted and drawn together out of the countries of Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, and Down, and other countries in Ulster, eight or nine thousand men, which formed into eight regiments, and a troop of horse, with two field-pieces; they did rendezvous on the 27th of November, 1641, at and about a house belonging to Sir George Rawdon at Brookhill, three miles distant from Lisnegarvy, in which town they knew there was garrisons of five companies, newly raised, and the lord Conway's troop of horse; and their principal design being to march into and besiege Carrickfergus, they judged it unsafe to pass by Lisnegarvy, and therefore resolved to attack it next morning, making little account of the opposition could be given them by so small a number, not half armed, and so slenderly provided of ammunition, (which they had perfect intelligence of by several Irish that left our party and stole away to them,) for that they were so numerous and well provided of ammunition by the fifty barrels of powder they found in his Majesty's store, in the castle of Newry, which they surprised the very first night of the rebellion; also they had got into their hands the arms of all the soldiers they had murdered in Ulster, and such other arms as they found in the castles and houses which they had plundered and burnt in the whole province. Yet it so pleased God to disappoint their confidence; and the small garrison they so much slighted, was much encouraged by the seasonable arrival of Sir George Rawdon, who, being in London on the 23d of October, hasted over by the way of Scotland, and being landed at Bangor, got to Lisnegarvy, though late, on the 27th of November, where those new-raised men, and the lord Conway's troop, were drawn up in the market-place, expecting hourly to be assaulted by the rebels, and they stood in that posture all the night, and before sunrise, sent out some horse to discover their numerous enemy, who were at mass; (it being Sunday) but immediately upon sight of our scouts, they quit their devotion, and beat drums, and marched directly to Lisnegarvy; and before ten of the clock, appeared drawn in battalia in the warren, not above a musket-shot from the town, and sent out two divisions of about six or seven hundred a-piece to compass the town, and placed their field-pieces on the highway to it, before their body, and with them and their fowling-pieces, killed and wounded some of our men as they stood in their ranks in the market-place; and some of our musqueteers were placed in windows to make the like returns of shot to the enemy. And Sir Arthur Terringham, (governor of Newry,) who commanded the garrison, and Sir George Rawdon, and the officers foreseeing if their two divisions on both sides of the town should fall in together, that they would overpower our small number. For prevention thereof, a squadron of horse, with some musqueteers, was commanded to face one of them that was marching on the north side, and to keep them at distance as long as they could; which was so well performed, that the other division, which marched by the river, on the south side, came in before the other, time enough so to be well beaten back by the horse, and more than two hundred of them slain in Bridge street, and in their retreat as they fled back to the main body.

"After which execution, the horse returning to the market-place, found the enemy had forced into our small party on the north side, and had entered the town, and was marching down Castle street, which



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